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SHEPHERD I. FRANZ, GOVT. HOSP. FOR INSANE

HOWARD C. WARREN, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY (*Review*)

JOHN B. WATSON, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY (*J. of Exp. Psych.*)

JAMES R. ANGELL, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO (*Monographs*) AND

MADISON BENTLEY, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS (*Index*)

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THE
PSYCHOLOGICAL BULLETIN

MORALE IN WAR AND AFTER¹

BY G. STANLEY HALL,

Clark University

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Introduction.—One of the best culture results of the war has been to make all intelligent people think and talk much about morale. There is already an interesting, valuable, and rapidly growing literature about it. Now that the war is over, the interest which was growing so rapidly in army morale is being transferred to civil life, and we are coming into a new appreciation of its value

¹ Prepared, in conjunction with other articles, for the S. A. T. C.

and meaning in that domain, and are hearing of personal, family, community, city, party, business, institutional, and national morale. Thus the war has given us a new sense of the value of this intangible, spiritual virtue, which, in a word, means manliness. There is a sense in which the army, like all other human institutions, is a state of mind. Its morale is its soul (*Mens agitat molem*) without which masses of men and munitions make only a blind titan Polyphemus.

What is morale? No two conceptions of it are alike. It can no more be defined than energy, or life, or soul. All we can do is to try to describe, to feel, and to guide it. We can already see that it has very deep roots; its ultimate source is nothing less than the great evolutionary urge itself. Of this it is, as we are now conceiving it, about the latest and highest product. It bottoms on Schopenhauer's will to live, Bergson's *élan vital*, Jung's *horme*, or nothing less than the evolutionary *nisus* itself. As Carruth said, "Some call it" evolution, "And others call it God." When and where it is strongest it makes the individual feel "fit" for any task. It also gives him a sense of solidarity with his comrades seeking the same end, and enables him either to do or to suffer in a common cause. To some extent it ebbs and flows by causes within which we cannot control or even fully understand. Yet to a great extent it can, like condition in an athlete, be trained for and cultivated. To do this latter for morale in every field is one of the great demands which modern civilization is now laying upon itself, in far greater degree than ever before. For this reason it is of fundamental importance for those who would fully enter into the life of the dawning post-bellum epoch to very carefully weigh its importance and learn all that can be taught, and to seek from every source all the practical insight available to keep it at its best in ourselves, in those nearest to us, and in every institution with which we are connected. All, especially every young man and woman, wish to be, to do something in the world that is worth while. In proportion to the momentum of life which they inherit they feel the impulse of the youth in Longfellow's "Excelsior" to climb ever higher, to gain influence, power, possession, to overcome obstacles, and to make the most and best of themselves. This vital energy keeps up a constant pressure upon reality about them to subdue it and mold it to their will, as man has always sought to dominate Nature and circumstance.

But when morale sags or fails of attaining this goal, then the

tide ebbs and the individual turns away and perhaps flees from reality, loses heart, courage, and becomes a coward to life. He is unable to face the here and now, evades, and becomes a slacker, and if this abandonment of the life impulse goes too far it may bring him face to face with suicide, which is the acme of recreancy. Thus there is a sense in which life is everywhere and always a battle, in which the presence or absence of morale determines success or failure, for there is always repression to be overcome.

Let us first, then, consider morale in war, and then attempt to apply some of its lessons to the conditions of peace.

Perhaps the most salient instance in all history of the collapse of morale on a large scale is found in the Russian debacle in 1917. A nation of 180,000,000, with an army of nearly 20,000,000 sturdy, fighting men, lost its morale, abandoned the field to the enemy, and in its disintegration tore down the most autocratic regime in Europe and from the extreme of imperialism swung over to the opposite extreme of bolshevism. It will be one of the most complex and fascinating problems of the psychology of the future to analyze and explain this unprecedented metamorphosis, but there is no better single phrase that can now describe it than to say that the Russian morale certainly went into bankruptcy.

On the other hand, history presents no such salient example of both the power and the persistence of morale as in the way in which the Allies endured the shock of the onset of war and the series of overwhelming calamities and defeats of its first three and one half years. England lost her general-in-chief in whom her hopes centered, had to raise an army of a size and with a speed utterly unprecedented in her history, and had a narrow escape from crushing defeat at the Marne. Neither the army nor the people of Belgium lost heart, although overwhelmed and plundered and outraged by the enemy to a degree unknown hitherto. Italy, with her high hopes and early victories, saw her armies rolled up almost to the gates of Venice. The campaign against Constantinople had to be ingloriously abandoned. The French for years saw the enemy raping towns and moving steadily toward Paris, threatening to divide them from their English ally by driving the latter into the sea. Then there were the great surprises of technique sprung by the Germans—Zeppelins, submarines, poison gas, *Flammenwerfer*, and systematic atrocities aimed chiefly against morale, which through all these disasters never faltered, and, after long years of trial, came back with a glorious and complete victory.

Of all the nations probably France, when everything is cleared up, will be seen to have shown the most superb morale, because *la patrie* seems, especially since the end of the Concordat, to have taken the place held by the Church in its palmiest days, and the extraordinary religious revival¹ that had swept over the country just before the outbreak of the war was, when it is psychologically understood, perhaps the most important of all the factors that made up the French morale.

I. *Difficulties of Maintaining Morale in This Country.*—In this country we had peculiar difficulties in maintaining ideal morale, both as we entered the war and in the training camps and later at the front. Here, as elsewhere, every day's censored report assured us that the morale of the troops of all the Allies was excellent, and this very iteration betrayed a deep, though half unconscious fear that it might break and thus bring the most dire disasters. That it must and shall not break ("They shall not pass") was our deepest resolve, and hence we sometimes became intolerant in insisting that nothing be said or done anywhere that could lower morale, either at home or at the front. This was the motive of censorship, and of certain restrictions upon our former freedom of speech.

Individual Difficulties of Maintaining Morale in This Country.—Stimulus implies reaction, but in the new conditions of trench warfare men often had to remain passive and not yield even to the impulse to escape. This generated no end of tension, and made men very susceptible to shell shock, which very rarely comes to men in action. (MacCurdy, Babinski, Eder, Crile, Smith, etc.) The bombardments preliminary to an attack were directed chiefly against the enemy's morale. Every kind of activity, mental or physical, within the trenches while under fire safeguards morale. Quiescence under stimuli is very dangerous, and any activation helps.

Gassing, too, is very hard on morale. The possibility of being smothered like a rat in a hole, and the fighting with gas-masks, lessening respiration and interrupting communication, are intense strains on fortitude and bring a new danger of demoralization. Many people have an instinctive dread of all closed spaces (claustrophobia), possibly inherited from cave-dwellers, and men of a respira-

¹ For a brief but brilliant review of this revival see Albert Schinz: "The Renewal of French Thought on the Eve of the War," *Am. Jour. Psy.*, June, 1916, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 297-314.

tory type, whose morale is unusually dependent upon atmospheric conditions, are in special danger.

Special American Difficulties.—We were not, like the Belgians, French, and Italians, fighting on our own soil or defending it from the prospect of invasion, and thus we lacked the motive of desperation. Our wives and daughters were not outraged, our goods pillaged, our industries destroyed, our capital raided by airplanes or fired at by "Big Berthas," our soldiers could have no home leave to "Blighty," and so our stake seemed even less than that of England. Thus, to the average American soldier, his interest in the war was less personal and our country's interest was less material, all of which bears on morale.

We are less homogeneous racially, less unified by our history and national traditions than are the leading nations of Europe. Many of our soldiers were born abroad, as were the ancestors of all of us a few generations back. Scores of thousands of our soldiers knew little English, and about every race and nation of the world was represented in our recruits. It takes generations to weld heterogeneous people into unity. We have not even a convenient or unique name; the United States cannot be indicated by an adjective. (Some have suggested that we might take the occasion of the war, as Russia did to rename Petrograd, and henceforth call ourselves "Columbia," but I think "New Europe" would be a better and more timely designation, just as New England was named from its mother country for nearly all our inhabitants are practically New Europeans.) So, too, there are sectional differences, and we also suffer from hyperindividuation, which is more uncurbed here, even for corporations, by the interests of the public welfare. Hence enemy propaganda, with our large German population, had an unparalleled field for all its activities, and all this is inimical to morale.

We lacked all military traditions and spirit. We had committed two mortal crimes against the God of Things As They Are, which, as history shows, he never allows to go unavenged. First, we were very rich, and, secondly, we were very defenseless. The spirit of Democracy and of Militarism are in a sense diametrical opposites. Although 375,000 men enlisted, we had to deal chiefly with drafted men, taken from the free pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness to totally new conditions, where subordination and discipline are the prime necessities and individual freedom and initiative are reduced to a minimum, with regimentation and prescription unlimited.

We had to cultivate militarism most intensively in order to repress it in the world. We learned that liberty had to be defended by the same means as autocracy must be. We came to respect the military system as not only perhaps the oldest of all human institutions (L. C. Andrews) but as the most important agency in welding individuals into true communities. Sheridan called discipline seventy-five per cent. of efficiency. It is team-work which enables a squad to overcome a mob, which makes men out of flabs, so that war or its moral equivalent has come as a new dispensation to us. To make a soldier out of the average free American citizen is thus not unlike domesticating a very wild species of animal. In subordinating individuals we should not, however forget that the kicker is often the born fighter and needs only the right direction for his energies. All these obstacles to morale we have more or less overcome.

Germany had its own unique morale. It had broken with its past, with the age of Kant and Goethe, with its culture of fifty or one hundred years before even more completely than bolshevism had broken with the earlier aristocratic and bourgeois revolutionists in Russia, and yet both were usurpers claiming the prestige of a preceding stage. The Germans profoundly believed themselves to be the world apostles of *Kultur*, the true supermen called by their fate or genius to subject their neighbors and bring them to a higher stage of civilization. This conviction of superiority, which had grown so strong, coupled with an instinct for discipline and feudal subordination of rank to rank in a long series, was the essence of their morale which, it is our fond hope, has been overcome with the defeat of their armies.

II. *Health and Morale*.—Health is one of the prime bases of morale. Health means wholeness or holiness. The modern hygienist asks: What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own health, or what shall a man give in exchange for his health? In recent years we have seen a great new attention to personal, school, public, municipal, and domestic hygiene, and since the regimen of the Japanese armies in that country's war with Russia showed its importance and since the lack of it in our Cuban campaign was so disastrous, on all sides more stress has been laid on sanitary conditions than in any other war.

The most universal greeting the world over consists in inquiries about our health and perhaps even that of those nearest to us, as if all must recognize its cardinal importance. Now, real health is

not merely keeping out of the doctor's hands, but its cult aims at keeping each at the very tip-top of his condition so that he feels full of the joy of life (euphoria) and capable of doing or suffering anything. Most of the world's work is done on a rather low hygienic level, but its great achievements, the culminating work of the leaders of our race, have been the product of exuberant, euphorious, and eureka moments, for a man's best things come to him when he is in his best state.

War, of course, needs intense physical energy, and the labor of drill and camp-work, which has toned up so many men of poor physique, has left a bequest to morale that ought to long outlive the war. To be weak is to be miserable and to be strong and well predisposes to true virtue. The muscles are nearly half the body-weight. They are the organs of the will, which has done everything man has accomplished, and if they are kept at concert pitch the chasm between knowing and doing, which is often so fatal, is in a measure closed. There is no better way of strengthening all that class of activities which we ascribe to the will than by cultivating muscle.

Food conditions morale. It has always been known that starving troops could not fight. The French scientists tell us that there is a particular type of man, in whom the digestive functions predominate, that is paralyzed more quickly than any other type by any deficiency in quality or quantity of food, and that these may more easily become heroic when defending their stores. Camp Greenleaf applied this principle by giving the rookies who came there fresh from their homes somewhat better food for two weeks than others got in order to make them more contented. In a sense man, like an animal, feels most at home when and where he feeds best, and if man really "fights on his stomach," then fighting on an empty stomach is proverbially hard. Recent studies in this field by the Pawlow school have shown us how fundamental proper metabolism, normal appetite and food-taking are for mental states and processes, and have shown us also how appetite is the mainspring that impels all the processes of digestion down to the very Metchnikoff end of the thirty-foot alimentary tube. Some still think that military life demands stimulants, although others hold that it is easier to dispense with them than in civil life. It does seem to be established by this war that smoking is a wholesome sedative to war strains, and certainly none but a fanatic hygienist would banish the "fag." Despite the needs in this department a soldier's life

requires that he be able in emergency to endure more or less privation even here. Perhaps we may conclude that while proper and regular food is a very important constituent of morale, this can be maintained at a very high level and for a long time even under great deprivation.

Rest and sleep, of course, make a great difference. A tired army is far more liable to panic, and fear often takes cover behind exhaustion. Sleep builds up exhausted cells, rejuvenates, and its very dreams are often a safety valve or catharsis for war strains generally and even for experiences and memories. Thus, too, the time of day has significance. Five-o'clock-in-the-morning courage is a very different thing from that of nine or ten o'clock at night, and darkness and inclement weather are handicaps. Sleep seems to have something to do with finishing the last and higher processes of digestion. While its importance is well appreciated, something of its psychology ought to be taught in every officers' training school.

III. *The Conquest of Fear.*—From the first rumor of war and the draft on to the training-camp, to the trenches, and the charge the chief feeling to be overcome in all men, perhaps in proportion to their intelligence and power of imagination, is fear. Cowardice is fear yielded to; bravery and courage are fear controlled. Fear is anticipatory pain, and mortal fear is of course the anticipation of death. Everyone has heard of heroes who condemned their limbs for trembling, their heart for throbbing, but the brave man is he who learns to control all these physiological symptoms and to do what he ought to do in every emergency. Every symptom of fear is met with near the front and when battle impends. There is weakness, sometimes rising almost to paralysis; unsteadiness of movement; loss of appetite; perhaps nausea, indigestion; diarrhea is very common; flushing and pallor; and an instinct to cringe and dodge and show symptoms of shock at everything unexpected, often at the very slightest surprise. In action many good men lose control of their muscles and become almost automata. Very few soldiers indeed can aim as well as on the rifle range, most shoot wildly, and some seem to lose control of the power of loading, while we are told by a number of high authorities that many fall by the way from sheer terror and that there are far more panics, local and even general, than find their way into history or even into official reports. Thus the efficiency of a fighting force depends more largely than hitherto realized upon the effectiveness of the methods

of repressing or controlling the fear instinct. In the German experience solid formations, advancing elbow to elbow, give a sense of security that makes men face danger more easily than they could in wide-open formations.

A large part of discipline is directed more and more toward making this control effective. Just in proportion as obedience to orders becomes instinctive, so that their execution requires no thought, and just in proportion as shooting, bayonet drill, throwing grenades, and other activities of the combat are made second nature, the chance of their being done aright at the critical moments increases and the hazard of acting wildly is diminished. Facility in these processes that can thus be mechanized also gives a certain degree of confidence, and the soldier feels that if he does lose his head his muscles will take up the task of themselves and that thus his defensive and even his aggressive power will not be lost in the direst emergency. This is one reason why drill must be incessant and long-continued, even though in trench warfare less direct use is made of it. Another reason is because where many men are doing the same things together there arises a sense of solidarity, so that each depends not only on himself but on others, and the individual feels that he is supported by the formidableness of the group.

Where fear is yielded to with abandon almost anything may be done. Men lose their orientation in space and may rush directly at the enemy instead of fleeing from him. In panicky fugues men often tend to flee over the same course in which they have advanced, sometimes going around sharp angles instead of taking quicker cross-cuts to safety because they have advanced along these angles. They throw away their weapons, accoutrements, sometimes their clothes, and run for incredible distances, perhaps leaping into chasms, and are not infrequently subject to illusions and hallucinations. Fear is extremely infectious. Often the sight of a single frenzied fugitive disconcerts and may disorganize a squad of courageous men, so that it is very important to eliminate those especially liable to start panics. We are told that the sight of a single individual fleeing, with all the facial, vocal, and other expressions of terror is more disquieting even to experienced troops than the death of those nearest them in the ranks or a very destructive fire of the enemy. We have a number of records of panic among horses in war, which sometimes attends and even causes grave disasters.

At home, too, fear is an important ingredient in every form of

slackerdome. It has made many conscientious objectors who never objected before but have extemporized a set of pacifist principles to cover their timidity. It is a large ingredient in the symptoms of disease in somatic cases, and often has a real effect in retarding cure, not only of psychic but physical traumata, even in the most candid and honest men, so deep in the unconscious does it burrow. The same explosion may cause shell shock in the guards who are conducting prisoners back of the line and have no such effect upon the prisoners themselves, because they are free from responsibility and realize that they are out of the fighting; while the best statistics tell us that shell shock is from three to four times as common among officers who must not only be brave but set examples to their men, as it is among privates. Many genuine cases of shell shock were cured with surprising suddenness by the news of the cessation of war.

This shows that we are all perhaps far more fearsome than we know, that the instinct of self-preservation is so strong that it percolates down through the unconscious regions of the soul and produces there results which are utterly inconsistent with courage, even in the bravest.

Almost every important event in the soldier's previous life has a bearing upon liability to or immunization from fear. On the one hand, if a man has been used to taking large risks and hazards of any kind in civil life he has a predisposition to take this larger risk. Of course if he has had hair-breadth escapes from danger he may, according to his diathesis, either come to feel that he can safely play with fortune, that he has a good star and the fates favor him, or else he may acquire a special type of timidity of other risks than those he has incurred. Again, even hereditary tendencies may make themselves felt. If for any cause one has acquired a dread of closed spaces (claustrophobia), he finds the trench itself very trying and this dread is greatly augmented under bombardment or in liability to attack. It has been found, too, that those who had childish dreads of thunder storms find it harder to control their terror at the detonations of big guns and high explosives. Others have either innate or acquired horror of blood which perhaps, like all other predisposing causes, may be overcome, if not too intense, or may incapacitate. Those with dread of open spaces find it far harder to charge in very wide open order and prefer hills, trees, or even water to a dead plain across the hell-strip between the front lines (MacCurdy).

In general every soldier realizes that he is increasing his chance of death in going to war, and this sense is the key to some of the most interesting results which scientific psychology owes to the war. It is hard work and requires long practice to be truly brave. The most imperative of all instincts is the love of life, and to deliberately risk it involves severe nervous and mental strain. But the consensus of mankind which despises cowardice is right, because there is probably no such test of human metal as whether or not and how soon and effectively the strongest of all instincts can be controlled.

One of the greatest problems, if not the chief one that overtops all others for officers is how best, soonest, and most effectively to teach the control of fear. This is also a most important problem for each individual soldier, and how he acquits himself in this task is perhaps the best measure of military efficiency. How can this be done?

It is quite impossible at present to enumerate all the means, direct and indirect, which contribute to this end, for there is almost nothing in a soldier's activities or in his environment that does not in some way bear upon it, and every day's experience helps or hinders this power of control. We can only enumerate here some of the most general and effective aids.

1. When the soldier is lying in the trenches under heavy bombardment, or when he is on distant outpost work in the dark, or wherever instinctive activity, of which danger is the greatest stimulus, is hindered, the morale of courage can never long survive if the mind is focused solely upon the peril; and here, then, we see how the mind inevitably turns to the chief mechanism possible in such conditions, namely, diversion. Any kind of activity or occupation that takes the thoughts away from the immediate danger, however routine the work may be and whether ordered or self-enforced—moving about, conversation, cigarettes, especially a joke, information passed along the line, which sometimes is designed only for this end, even some added discomfort like inrush of water or the necessity of digging out a closed communication, anything to eat or drink—all this helps to relieve, if only momentarily, the strain which may otherwise be so great that the order to go over the top, even in a grilling fire, comes as a relief. Never has the need of diversion been more recognized or more supplied, all the way from home to the front, than for the American soldiers in this war, and its power for morale can never be overestimated. Of all these diversions the best are those that involve the most activity, whether

of mind or body, on the part of the soldier himself. It is far more effective for him to act in a play or sing in a concert than to be merely a spectator or listener.

2. The second corrective of fear is example. Of this we have had endless illustrations. Even the narration of a brave deed, or a decoration for heroism conferred upon one whom a soldier knows is a powerful incentive to emulation, so gregarious is man. An instance of it actually seen is, of course, far more impressive. Hocking tells of a piper who found a large company of men who had thrown themselves on the ground, exhausted and in despair, expecting annihilation, who were rallied by two friends, one of whom marched up and down with a penny whistle while the other imitated playing a drum, until the wearied men were given cheer and arose, saying, "We'll follow you to hell," and were finally led to safety. Here the example of the officer is, of course, the most potent of all. Often every eye is upon him to see if he flinches, hesitates, or wavers. If he is cool most men will follow him anywhere, so contagious is courage. In every group of soldiers that become well acquainted there are individuals, sometimes officers and sometimes privates, to whom in danger their comrades turn instinctively for their clue.

3. Some temperaments are able to establish their morale against fear by working themselves up beforehand to a full realization of their peril and of the chance of a wound or even death, and accepting the situation once and for all. We have the best instance of this that I know of in the records of a number of French youth. They thoroughly realized that they had entered upon a course which might have a fatal termination, and devoted themselves at the outset, as martyrs if need be, to the cause which was far greater than their own life. Having made this great decision, they found it gave them strength and poise in critical moments. Not very many, however, save intellectuals and by no means all of them are capable of this type of conscious self-immolation.

4. Far more acquire a kind of fatalism. Some optimists come to believe that the bullet they are to stop has not been cast, while more find relief in the sense that the lot has already been cast in the lap of Fate and that they are to live or die more or less irrespectively of anything that they can do. This is akin to the Stoic fatalism, the Mohammedan kismet, or the Puritan will of God.

5. Some, probably by no means as many as churchmen expected, find genuine nervous poise in a religious belief in life after

death. This is probably nowhere near so effective in modern armies as it was among the old Teutons, who believed in Walhalla; or among the Moslems, who held that the dead warrior passes to the lap of the houris in Paradise; or in Cromwell's Puritan "Iron-sides." The sentiment lingers on, but more in the realm of poetic fancy and dim, vague feeling than in conscious conviction. The sense that death will bring honor to friends, or be a sacrifice which the country or the cause needs, involves a higher type of idealism than most soldiers can make into a very potent assuager of fear. Despite all that is said of the glories of dying for one's country or for liberty the analyses that have been made of patriotism show it to be a complex of many elements but not yet of prime significance to this end.

6. Probably the chief and most practical factor in the conquest of fear is familiarity. Long before he actually smells powder the soldier's fancy irresistibly dwells much upon his possible wounds or death, while as soon as he nears the front he sees the victims of battle all about him and even sees his friends and comrades fall. He serves his turn on the burial squad and has to bring back the dead and wounded to the rear. This gives a certain immunizing callousness to it all, and he becomes very familiar with the thought that he may be the next victim and so accepts the fact with growing equanimity. The seasoned fighter learns to fight on even though his mates are falling on all sides in death or agony. Human nature can get used to anything, and wont raises the threshold of temibility higher than anything else.

IV. *Morale and Death.*—In peace death and everything connected with it has always been the most solemn of all themes. The sick- and the death-bed, the last tender services, the final breath, the closing of the eyes, pallor, coldness, the preparation of the body, the shroud, coffin, funeral, entombment, and mourning, with all its depression and its trappings,—all these things make the supreme appeal to the human heart and mind. The transition from warm and active life to a putrefying corpse has always shocked the human soul as nothing else has had the power to do. Every known savage tribe sooner or later puts its dead away because the mind and the senses of man cannot endure the phenomena of decomposition. Hence interment, cremation, burial in water, desiccation in air, towers of silence, are all to disguise or divert the soul from this supreme horror. Sepulchers, monuments, cairns, pyramids, epitaphs, are also disguises (*Decphenomene*),

just as one motive of dress from the primitive fig-leaf, and also personal adornments and toilet and marriage ceremonials have as one of their motives the diversion of attention from the organs and functions of sex to other parts of the body or to secondary sex qualities. Many tell us that the prime motive for a belief that there is such a thing as a soul, that it survives the body, that its fate may be more or less followed through the vicissitudes of a future life, was to distract attention from rotting carrion to a more beautiful set of images and to relieve the shock of the primitive fear that death had ended all. All funeral rites serve two contrasted ends. On the one hand, they either help us to realize that our friends, whose death perhaps we have not personally seen, are really dead, which is so hard for us to conceive, that they will return to us at least in the form of dreams unless the ghosts are thus laid; or else they are to turn away our thoughts from the physical phenomena of the decay of the flesh to memories and hopes, and to mitigate the shock by a compensatory belief that some part of the dead yet lives.

War brings not only the community but especially the soldier to a radically different view of death. He is not only liable to see his comrades mutilated in every conceivable way and pass in a moment from the most intense life to the most agonizing death, but he must often himself gather the mangled fragments of the bodies of his comrades, and very often, in excavations or by the disentanglements caused by shells, envisage every stage of decomposition of those previously interred in ways that Barbusse has so gruesomely described but which even pictorial artists forbear to portray. Thus to the soldier every kind of camouflage of death is rudely torn away, and he meets it in all its ghastliness at first hand. Not only this, but while in peace murder is the worst of all crimes it now becomes the chief of all duties, for it is the goal of all his training and preparation. He must inflict it with all its horrible sequels upon as many of the foe as possible. Worst of all, in some sense, is the fact that whereas in civil life death usually comes to the old, the weak, or the sick, and occurs only at rare intervals to those we know and love, now it suddenly sweeps off masses of the strongest and best in the very prime of life. This brings death home to the soldier and the community in a far closer way. The soldier must harden himself to all this at short notice as best he can and to such a degree that his efficiency be not abated, his courage fail, or his spirits droop. This is the acme of all the strains put upon his morale.

The responses, both conscious and unconscious, to this situation are manifold, and psychology is not yet able to evaluate or even tabulate them all.

(a) Some, as we have seen, react by bravado. They affect to laugh death in the face, and make ghastly jests about the most agonizing of all these experiences. With some temperaments this initial affectation of callousness is so instinctive and often effective a method of hardening a soul to travel this viaticum of woe that we must not condemn it without some of the insight that sympathy with the dire need of this emergency can bring.

(b) Others develop the impressions and convictions of their early religious teaching and are more or less steadied by a belief, or at least a hope, that if their bodies die there is an immortal part that will not only survive but meet a reward in some "boathouse on the Styx." This inveterate instinct undoubtedly acts unconsciously and buoys up many a heart without any very conscious conviction and without any form of outer expression, for the soldier thinks it cowardly to revert suddenly to a faith which he has neglected through all his post-adolescent years. Only poets and spiritualists or pronounced religionists are able to formulate these anticipations of personal immortality, or even to conceive that the souls of those who die continue to strive above, as in Kaulbach's famous cartoon, or that they go either to Walhalla or to the houris. The latter view is so in line with the deep instinct to find in love compensation for the hardships of war that it makes this creed perhaps the ideal one for the soldier. No doubt the experiences of war tend to at least secretly develop every such proclivity where it exists, and this has been best and most sublimely expressed in the often very confessional memoranda of French soldiers.

(c) Many, however, if not most soldiers today refuse to consciously come to very definite terms with the problem of their own death but only feel, as Winifred Kirkland¹ well puts it, that somehow their immolation, if the worst comes, will not be in vain but that their influence will be some kind of a pervasive power for good, even if it works impersonally and *sub specie eternitatis*. Their life is so intense, their effort so strenuous that the merit of it all cannot be entirely lost. They are on the path to glory and it cannot all end in nothingness, even if oblivion close over their personality. Somewhere, somehow in the cosmic order their life and death will not have been in vain.

¹ *The New Death*, Boston, 1918.

(d) It is the very fact of the soldier's super-vitality-and-activity, which means the farthest possible remove from death, that makes so many soldiers optimistic fatalists and causes them to feel if not that they have a charmed life that they will somehow escape. The glow and tingle, and perhaps especially the erethism of war often make the healthy soldier feel that he has too strong a hold upon life for death to be able to stop him.

There are more than three hundred distinct graveyards definitely set apart for the dead in the three hundred miles that stretch from Flanders to Switzerland, which is thus itself today the world's greatest cemetery. More and more friends at home feel as Harry Lauder did about his son—that he ought always to rest in this vast field of glory, and many writers have expressed the belief that these "God's acres" should henceforth and forever be too hallowed for any armies to fight over and ought to be more defensive than fortifications. In the early stages of the war many who were buried here, often uncoffined, in trenches near where they fell and perhaps sewed in a brown army blanket with a Union Jack laid over them⁴ will never be identified. Not a few of these earlier cemeteries had their crosses or inverted bottles, containing the names of the soldiers, torn away, while very many bodies were disinterred by the shell fire of later engagements, and many trenches had to be run through them without involving reburials. But later every effort was made by special organizations in each of the allied countries to preserve the identity of every fallen soldier no matter how mausolized his body was. In England a Graves Registration Commission under General Fabian Ware was appointed, which sought to trace everyone from the last time he was seen to his final resting place and to send information and souvenirs to his relatives. Identification was later stamped on an aluminum tape, and the exact site of each grave entered in a register. There are various kinds of wooden and iron markers, with separate lots for Orientals. These registration units have done much to bind France and England. When the English came the French said, "We leave you our trenches and our dead," and have given the English permanent cemeteries. The desire by the friends for assurance that their dead have found a grave, that it is being tended, and that they "lie comfortable," all this is now very effectively taken care of by voluntary

⁴ *The Care of the Dead*, London, 1916. See also LORD NORTHCLIFFE: *At the War* in the chapter "Search for the Missing," p. 133; and ALFRED NEY: *Le Droit des Morts* (1918), with 70 photographs of graves.

means, and here the Red Cross has done some of its best work, verifying records and affixes with dates, collecting everything found on the body and sending it to relatives, and answering every inquiry possible.

Major Pierce was given complete charge of our Graves Registration Bureau, which marks and erects crosses, uses a symbolic medallion, and photographs graves collectively and individually for the next of kin. It is more and more felt to be a blessed service to rescue from obscurity those who have fallen. Larger monuments are to be erected by the different countries, and an international federation has been established to develop military sculptures for them. Land was permanently given by the French to the American Expeditionary Force, and several of the larger plots have been fenced and posted while smaller ones were arranged near the front with a unit of two officers and fifty men provided for each divisional cemetery, the size of these units to be increased when necessary.

Provision is made in all countries to separate if possible the dead of the enemy from those of the home army. In Germany great attention is given to this subject, and competitions have also been instituted for the best tombs for individuals and for public group monuments.¹ Some of these plans are most striking and seem to us in shocking taste. Some are high mounds like those of the Vikings for burying men in mass on the battle-field. Some are solemn mausoleums, others circular enclosures; some suggest cairns, pyramids, towers; one is a solid block-house; many have swords, spears, and helmets, while the iron cross is very common. From one a dozen tall parallel spears emerge. Metal insignia often half cover the stone work. One vast tree-shaped monument is covered with individual plaques. The characters are often runic. One shows two rows of hands, twelve in all, bearing an upright sword.

As to mourning, President Wilson approved the recommendations of the Woman's Committee of The Council of National Defense that three-inch black bands be worn whereon a gilt star might be placed for each member of the family who lost his life in the service. England was the first to advocate simpler mourning and the restriction of *crêpe*. Even in the Boer War Queen Victoria suggested that the morale of the people might be improved by less black. France followed to some extent this movement in England,

¹ *Soldatengräber und Kriegsdenkmale*. Wien, 1915.

and leaders of fashion there have done much to simplify mourning and to make the hat, the veil, shoes, and dress less ultra-fashionable. This movement, while it has impressed itself somewhat upon ultra-fashionables has had a far more beneficent effect on the women of the middle and lower classes who desire to show in their habiliments the sorrow they so profoundly feel but lack means or are engaged in occupations which make ceremonial mourning difficult.

Cora Harris has written a mystical story of Lee and Grant and other great fighters of our Civil War going to France in spiritual shape, hovering above the regiments and guiding the brain and nerving the heart of the novice. She might have gone farther and imagined Washington, Jackson, Paul Jones, Lafayette, and also very many of the heroes of defeat (see W. J. Armstrong's *The Heroes of Defeat*, Cincinnati, 1905) thus aiding our troops. It is well to remember here that many believe that the gods themselves were originally worshipped as ancestors, and that in the code of the Japanese bushido the dead were a tremendous power in her war with Russia. We should do far more than we do now "lest we forget." The best memorial to the dead is to carry on their work, and there are many who believe that this country in its past has gone farther than any other toward ignoring what it owes to those who have given their lives that we may be free and prosperous. Most that we are able to do we owe to ancient benefactors, the memory of far too many of whom has perished from among men. While, therefore, we may be less certain of personal survival and reward in another world for those who die in a great cause, we can do very much to give them a compensatory mundane immortality that must make a powerful appeal to every soul capable of loyalty and devotion to a cause greater than himself. From all this we see that the morale of those who go out never to return, and whose last words, whatever they were, we shall tend to cherish as a kind of *morituri salutamus*, as well as that of their survivors in the field and at home, has no more fitting index than the way in which those who have met the great defeat are enshrined in our memory.

The only meaning of the new death is how it affects life. To the philosopher who sees and knows that there is nothing beyond the grave fictions about the soul's future have a very high and a very diverse but a solely pragmatic value. We know nothing whatever about it and probably never can. Death is simply the great *tabula rasa* on which the imagination of every race, creed, and even individual paints, and to the very few who can think unselfishly about

it the holocaust of the war only intensifies the consciousness of our sense of nescience. It is the great void in which the intellect discerns nothing but total blackness but which feeling, wishes, fear, and fancy always people with their creations; and these creations do profoundly affect our lives and also the way in which we meet the thought or the reality of our own death. It is these war stimulates and makes very real.⁶

The soldier's attitude toward death is often very fluctuating; it varies inversely with the love of life. Sometimes when in great depression he exposes himself, hoping that a bullet will bring surcease from all his troubles and feeling that death would be a most welcome relief. The scholarly soldier asks what is the use of all his study if he is to be cut off. If there is a future life it must be a rather drab platonic communion with ideas which is more suggestive of death than life as Plato defined philosophy as the love and cult of death. Again, the young man feels that he has done too little to justify his survival and perhaps finds comfort in the face of death in the conviction that he never will. Again, he revolts at the prospect of his happy youth so tragically and suddenly closed. On the other hand, if he has been good he rejoices that he may be cut off before age with its temptations can spoil him, feeling perhaps that he is better now than he will ever be again. He has accomplished little in the world and perhaps his whole existence is to be futile and

⁶ The best collection of data illustrating this is found in MAURICE BARRES's *The Faith of France* (Chapter X) where he prints the very systematically collected letters of many young French soldiers who wrote down their own thoughts and feelings about death and later suffered it, to each of which he adds his own comments. See also *Lettres d'un Soldat* (Paris, 1916, 164 p.) by an anonymous painter, a solitary and obscure genius who, like Oliver in Rollands *Jean Christophe*, every day made in mind the supreme sacrifice. Even in the trench and under fire he brooded on the beauty of the starry night, dawn, etc. The macabre of battle could not keep his spirits down. His intellect found little stimulus in war but his spontaneous emotions filled his soul to overflowing. Thus the soul heals its own wounds, like a skillful surgeon, often even while the critical faculties looking coldly on know that these are only consolations. See also P. BOURGET's *Le Sens de la Mort* wherein the skeptical surgeon, Dr. Ortigue, dying of cancer and knowing death to be extinction, operates in his hospital at the front till the end. His words and example bring his far younger wife to share his belief and to vow to commit suicide with him in the end. She is saved, however, from this after he dies by the example of a wounded young soldier who dies like a true Christian extending the crucifix over her. The faith of this hero overcame the skepticism of the scientist and the young wife promises to live. A still more sublimated and ecstatic faith is found in BORSI's *A Soldier's Confidences with God: A Spiritual Colloquy* (1918). Other books on this subject are L. DE GRANDMAISON's *Impressions de Guerre de Prêtres Soldats* (1916), and L. BLOY's *Méditations d'un Solitaire* (1916).

vacant. Then he alternates to a kind of animal hatred of death. Later he avows atheism and thinks that those who share that belief and the mystics are more truly religious than the Christians. Thus the soldier in his secret soul is prone under the stimulus of impending death to develop the germinal attitudes of about every philosophy and creed one after another, flitting from positive to negative views according to his mood or the changing circumstances of war. Scattered through the confessional books of soldiers we can already find abundant examples of this and it would be easy, if there were space, to collect an anthology to illustrate it, although it more often takes place, especially in more uneducated and inarticulate souls, rather below than above the threshold of consciousness. But it is certain that the war has stimulated active souls to repeat in the often unplummeted depths of their feeling about all the efforts that man has made to come to terms with the King of Terrors.⁷

V. *The Morale of Humor.*—This is far more seen in the Anglo-Saxon race and in those who speak the Romance languages than among the Teutons, whose rancor in war makes them so serious that none could accuse them of the "curse of jocularity." Humor is perhaps the very best camouflage for fear. In looking over files of the trench journals of the Allies nothing has struck me more forcibly than the desperate and pathetic attempts to jest, even about death itself in its most horrid aspects. This often seems most shocking to civilian readers, while some of the attempts to joke are so abortive as to be simply pathetic. Coningsby Dawson writes, "Pretty well every man I have met out here has the amazing guts to wear his crown of thorns as though it were a cap and bells." Jests normally belong to the most carefree moments of life, but at the front they are used to cover up the most serious and solemn of all human experiences, viz., the envisagement of death. The instinct to turn the most solemn facts in the environment into a theme of laughter is partly an attempt of the individual to release his own thoughts from a present too excruciatingly agonizing to be long borne, but it is also partly to signal to others that he can keep his soul free and happy in the face of danger; while a third ingredient is the social one of heartening others to do the same. Thus a "funny" man in the army is a godsend, and men instinctively turn

⁷ ARTHUR GRAEME WEST: *The Diary of a Dead Officer*. This soldier in his letters and poems illustrates more of these moods than any other I have found, but it is most common in French memoirs.

to the mirth-maker, even though they are conscious that his levity is half affectation. In peace and in sickness it is often a great resource to be able to see the humorous side of things. It indicates a superfluity, margin, or reserve of energy and rests from the acutest mental strain, even if it requires a certain bravado. As has been often remarked, humor is more obvious and perhaps strained in the early stages of a war and tends to die out as men become seasoned. It is the new recruit who strives most desperately to be merry over cooties, mud, fatigue, and the rest, for it is at bottom a defence mechanism. The rookie would fain be able to look the most horrid form of death straight in the face and laugh and snap his fingers as if defying him to do his worst. It is not impossible that this instinct now in some sense vicariates for the anticipated joys in some warriors' heaven, which was clung to as a kind of compensation for death. At any rate, the soldier who is devoid of humor lacks one of the elements of the morale of good psychic regimen.

We should go mad with the tragedy of the atrocities of this war if there were no diversions from it, and Harold Bigbie is woefully wrong in thinking it is all too serious for fun or that soldiers at home are shocked by all mirth-making and would think a funereal mood the best. This logic would banish fun from the world, for life itself is not only serious but a battle. Someone has called the French shrug and smile a mind-sweeper. It means superfluous vitality. The American soldiers who marched down the middle of a Paris street with a deadly air-raid above, carrying Japanese paper parasols as a protection, invoked laughter from those who had crowded the doorways and bomb-cellars while explosives were falling all about; the boy who showed a sympathetic chaplain what appeared to be a Morocco-bound Testament in which a Hun bullet had been stopped and so saved his life, though it had wounded him severely, and, after listening to the obvious religious lesson, showed him that it was a pack of cards; the noted English airman at St. Quentin who stole high up into the air, disguising the identifying marks of his machine and drawing a fusillade from Teuton aircraft guns, who dropped what seemed to the terrified crowd below to be a bomb, which proved to be only a Rugby football that instead of exploding bounded high into the air; the straw and plug hats an American company wore from a nearby hat-shop in place of their helmets; the fun of the Sammies with the French language; the pet names given to effective big guns; the acceptance of the French perky Nennette and Rintintin against air-raids, worn everywhere by

both sexes; the incessant and clever application of the familiar terms of football and baseball to war incidents; the rich and clever trench slang; the interest in films of the Chaplin and Fairbanks order; the passion for farce, satire, extravagant comedy, and extravaganzas—all these and countless more serve many a purpose of high morale. First of all, laughter makes friendships, even with those who speak another tongue; a mutual smile brings souls together. Again, it flaunts the fact that one refuses to be scared; and, thirdly, it transforms pathos into humor, just as Hood when dying of consumption found comfort in caricaturing his own more and more lethal symptoms. Momus never played such a rôle as in this most tragic of wars, and when all this material is assembled and duly explained he will be shown to have had no insignificant part in winning it.*

VI. *The Morale of Hate and Anger.*—Anger is the most sthenic of all states. A man who is thoroughly mad to the point of abandon can do and say many things impossible to him in any other state. It rings up latent powers of nerve and muscle, it flushes the blood with the most combustible of all the high explosive physiological products, adrenalin, like oil sprayed into a furnace. Savages work themselves up to a frenzy of rage before rushing upon their foe. Hate, for our purposes here, may be considered as a kind of deep-settled and prolonged anger, or at least a permanent possibility and proclivity to it. The conditions of modern warfare, however, are radically changed in this, as in so many other respects. The boy who is liable to fits of Berserker rage and warns his pal not to get him "mad" has no place in the modern army. The old morbid *iracundia*, excessive touchiness, and even the old *furor teutonicus*, which was so terrible in primitive Germany, avail little in campaigns where the enemy is so rarely seen and remains impersonal. It is a little doubtful whether the German songs of hate and their cult of hatred, especially against England, have made them really more effective in war. Kipling's threatening poem when England begins to hate, the old appeals to this impulse in the cry, "Remember the Maine" or "Remember the Lusitania" have produced really little result. Such waves of public indignation are generally more or less harmless and transient vents of animosity. Even in a bayonet scrimmage of man against man the evidence indicates that not so much hate as the instinct of self-preservation impels the thrust

* The Psychology of Tickling, Laughing, and the Comic. By G. S. HALL & AR. ALLEN. *Amer. J. of Psychol.*, 9, No. 1 (Oct., 1897).

fatal to the enemy. Moreover, Fritz when captured or met under any other conditions is found to be not such a bad fellow. He is, after all, but a man much like ourselves. Again, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to maintain anger for any length of time at a high pressure. Its very nature is more or less fulminating, and there is a certain tendency to subside and to lapse into a state of indifference, or perhaps even to react to a certain degree of friendliness by the law of compensation.

True, the wrath of Achilles was the theme of Homer, as the wrath of God is one of the chief themes of the Old Testament, and the achievements of Orlando Furioso sometimes have a certain epic sublimity; but the day for all this has passed. Even the outrageous atrocities of the Germans leave only a deep and settled conviction that something drastic must be done to prevent their recurrence, and they can hardly be said to have furnished the motive of chief strength in the conduct of the war. Never was there a more colossal psychological blunder made than when the foe decided on the method of frightfulness, for by this he aroused a deep and righteous sentiment of retribution which had the very opposite effect from that he calculated, namely stimulating recruits and loan subscriptions and nerving the arm of the Allies with something of the energy of desperation. It was these deeds and the ever clearer conviction that they were planned with deliberate purpose that has done more than even the ambitions of conquest and the affront to the rest of Europe implied in the superman assumption to make real peace hard, and put off beyond the vision of those now living the day of the reestablishment of international friendliness in the world. Men can pardon legitimate war but not these unprecedented barbarities.

The whole spirit of the Allies, especially of the English, was totally different. They took into the field the habits of games played according to rule by gentlemen who would scorn to take an unfair advantage, in which even the less noble-minded of the contestants were anxious that only the best man should win. Games are played with the utmost energy and sometimes almost desperation but never with personal antagonism. And so the war on the part of the English was a repulsive job that simply had to be done, like the cleaning out of Augean stables. The more monstrous the atrocities, the greater the need of quelling the menace. Instead of cultivating hate in the school and the community this was left to itself, and the chief appeal was to a sense of need and

duty to down the Kaiser as the common enemy of mankind or like a mad dog.

I heard a college president preach to soldiers that instead of hating the German when he thrust his bayonet into his abdomen he must love him and offer a silent prayer for his soul. Such an attitude is a psychological impossibility. It may be a relic of the savage custom of propitiating the souls of victims lest their ghosts come back to wreak vengeance on the slayer; but even this was done not in the heat of conflict but afterwards.

We conclude, therefore, that it is not only legitimate but necessary that our soldiers should know authentically and impartially all we can tell them in regard to outrages that lie without and beyond the sphere of war precedents and of humanity.

The Frenchman who had seen his home or that of his fellow-man destroyed, his orchards ruined, his tools and cattle stolen, his wife, daughter, and sister outraged or enslaved, must have found in hate and revenge a tremendous source of militant energy. We have many instances which show how he burned to give the Germans a taste of their own medicine, and how hard it was for him to refrain from all excesses when after the armistice he crossed the German frontier. This we Americans can sympathize with but can never feel, for we have not suffered in this way.

Thus with the conquest of the German arms we must believe at least that the policy of frightfulness in war has been given its *coup de grâce*. Never again will a nation, however arrogant and powerful, dare to arouse the awful Nemesis of revenge by thus outraging, as the Germans have done, the basal instincts of humanity and justice. The bitter resentments thus kindled will die slow and hard. At the moment of writing they threaten to impel the French toward a policy of reprisals, which are abundantly justified but which the other nations believe should be repressed from motives of policy. Thus we should see clearly all the hateful things the enemy has done and should not attempt to restrain our righteous indignation. But wars, especially long wars, will be won, if they scourge the world again, as this one has, not by anger; and no nation after this object lesson of its futility will ever adopt the policy of atrocities.

VII. *Morale and Sex*.—This has always been as vital as it is a delicate problem with soldiers in camp and in field, in peace and in war. The Vienna surgeon, Billoth, long ago gave us a graphic account of the introduction of syphilis into Europe by the army

that returned from Mexico in the early history of America, and tells us how the infection spread like a plague before the always slow but sure development of at least partial immunity which time brings. Where soldiers are gathered not only do lewd women congregate, but such is the fascination of the uniform that there is always a great increase of free liaisons with previously pure girls.⁹ The German policy is to assume that there will be irregularities and to instruct every soldier in the use of preventative and prompt curative measures and to rely but little upon moral prophylaxis. In England and this country preventative methods and moral suasion are more relied upon, and the infected soldier is compelled by penalties to report promptly for treatment. With us there is still shame enough so that this acts as a deterrent and we have more faith than the Germans in admonition and warning to keep men straight.

War is, in a sense, the acme of what some now call the manly protest. In peace women have invaded nearly all of the occupations of man, but in war male virtues come to the fore, for women cannot go "over the top." Some have even ascribed one of the fascinations of soldiering to the half-conscious satisfaction men feel that here they have escaped female competition and found a field in which their own activities can have free course without rivalry of the other sex. The two chief elements in human nature are, (1) individuation, which bottoms on hunger and which in the first dozen years of life prevails; and, (2), genesis or the transmission of life to future generations, about which the home and so many other institutions of society center. In war the first of these tendencies is chiefly stressed. The Freudian theory that general anxiety, out of which all the phobias, most neuroses, and about all psychoses evolve, can always ultimately be traced to some flaw in the *vita sexualis* has been refuted by the experiences of shell shock, which is always connected not with sex or race but with the instinct of self-preservation.

Our government very wisely made often rather drastic conditions, first for the location of camps and afterwards for their regimen, with a view to minimizing the dangers from this source. A five- and in some cases a ten-mile zone of purity was drawn about the cantonment, and in every camp some special instruction has been

⁹ See another somewhat unique French relation of the sexes in H. DE VISMES: *Histoire Authentique et Touchante des Marraines et Filleuls de Guerre* (Paris: Perrin, 1918), and for a worse side see G. A. SCHREINER: *The Iron Ration*, Chapter XIX (N. Y.: Harper, 1918).

given. When a man has drilled and worked eight or twelve hours a day he is little prone at night to go any great distance to satisfy his fleshly instinct, and so fatigue has sometimes been specially cultivated as a safeguard.

Now, war involves the most intense of the activities of both body and mind, and we know now that chastity and self-control are essential prerequisites in enabling men to undergo all kinds of war strain. We do not understand precisely how the hormones from the sex organs find their way to the higher centers, but it is certain that they do and that those guilty of self-indulgence have less reserves to draw upon for any emergency. Sex is the most capable of metamorphosis of any human instinct, and the study of sex perversions and erotic fetishes show that it can become associated with almost any object or any act. Erethic symptoms may be connected with almost anything so that it may cause excitement. Even fervent prayer and other religious experiences may excite it, and it has no end of surrogates in the imagination, of which it is the greatest of all stimulators. The soldier, like the pugilist training for a championship bout, from the standpoint of the higher hygiene really ought to and does entirely forego for the time being his exercise of the procreative function. It should by every means be held in abeyance. The reciprocal relation between it and intense activity of body and mind is shown in the fact that those who suffer most from war strain are very often impaired in their quality of parenthood. This conclusion of eugenics now rests upon data that can hardly be disputed, although we are certain in the near future to know much more about it in detail. Nicolai even states that he cannot find one of the great men of the world who have been sired by a soldier who had been through severe campaigns.

Again, all, and especially young people, need excitement. They crave it and seek it, and in forbidden ways if normal and legitimate ones are not open to them. The young man longs to tingle and glow, to let himself go until he feels something within take him up and carry him along with a strength not his own. In some cases an explosion of anger has cleared the air like a thunder storm and brought "the peace that passeth understanding" afterwards. An ebullition of fear or any other strong emotion brings a kind of reënforcement. The psychology of alcohol shows that most people drink for the heightened vitality of mind or body that it brings, rather than for the mere physical pleasure of imbibing

liquor. If, therefore, we wish to establish the conditions where sex excitement is liable to break out and pass beyond all control, we have only to make life dull, uninteresting, monotonous, and especially to take out of it all strenuous endeavor. Thus again we can see how war of all the occupations of man, because it is the most exciting and the most strenuous, makes not only possible but imperative for its supreme success the highest degree of chastity.

In point of fact, however, war in the past seems to have tended to the opposite result. The very increase of vigor that drill and camp activity and regimen impose predisposes to temptation. Moreover, there is a deep, old racial instinct that finds partial expression in the phrase, "None but the brave deserve the fair." Primitive man and even animals often engaged in their most violent conflicts for females, who were the reward of victory, and this has been a potent factor in making the best survive. It is thus that the strongest have left progeny. There is nothing that the female, human or animal, more admires or finds more seductive than the prowess that wins a conflict, for that means the power of defense and protection. Thus it is that soldiers home on leave have to meet special temptations.

Moreover, the very hardships and brutalities of war, the harshness of discipline, and the exhaustion of training and encounters tend to ebb ambivalently so that the soldier feels that he has, in a sense, earned the right to self-indulgence and instinctively turns to the more tender and now more alluring companionship of the other sex.

Again, war always tends to loosen family bonds. It brings perhaps a long separation of husband and wife and hence former moral restraints tend to relax, and we now have new theories galore that look toward greater license. Lapses tend more or less to be condoned. The tempter has a larger field at home, and the man in the field, perhaps realizing this, allows himself unwarranted liberties. Eugenic theories are sometimes invoked, and perhaps never was the whole subject of the relation of the sexes more open in the secret thoughts and hearts of men and women in ways that have found expression in speech and print so shocking to more conservative minds. The very tension of absence and abstinence makes the mind more open, not merely to dreameries but to theories that vicariate for the new restraints and the new temptations.

In view of these conditions what does morale in this field demand? I reply:

(a) Perhaps first of all that the very closest relation be maintained with home and with friends. Mother, sister, sweetheart, wife, now have the opportunity and incentive to make their influence most effective in keeping the absent son, brother, lover, and husband loyal and pure. They should realize this responsibility and exert it to the uttermost, and "keep the home fires burning" in the heart of the soldier by every means in their power,—by frequent and wise letters, gifts and reminders,—and make him feel that the family ties, however far they have been stretched, are not broken.

(b) Camp activities not immediately connected with war have perhaps the second place. Real and especially active interest in camp music, in the camp library, in dramatics and every kind of entertainment, incentives to learn the French language and geography, to peruse war literature, and, perhaps best of all, to carry on any line of study to which the educated soldier may have been devoted—all these have their place here. Best of all are athletic games and contests. Everyone who has a specialty of any kind that can interest others or stimulate competition has also a salutary, alterative function.

(c) In place of direct instruction ("highbrow smut-talks"), which have little effect, there have been a few brief leaflets that must have been very effective. The medical examiner and subordinate officers can, if informed or awake to their opportunities, often drop side remarks in the most incidental way, which the soldier seizes with avidity because he does not consider that it is aimed at him. We should remember that in the field of sex the briefest hint, which could ideally be dropped as if its author was entirely unconscious of its significance, will be understood and assimilated most uniquely. Sex teaching is not like teaching a school subject, as so many of the swarm of men and women who have lately written upon it assume. The principle should be *verbum sapientis sat*, and nothing is more offensive to a healthy soul than to read or hear the platitudes spun to such tedious length as in several scores of books of this character which I have collected during the last quarter of a century. The physician is far more effective here than the clergyman or the Y. M. C. A. man. A physical trainer in one of our largest colleges, who has had a score of years' experience, tells me that in single remarks which he makes it a point to casually throw out at the moment he has a student stripped for measurements he believes he has done more good than in all the stated lectures it has been his duty to give.

(d) Scare-talks on the dangers of infection no doubt did once, and still in some cases do have great effect, but there is little new here now even to the average private, and familiarity with this sort of thing has immunized the souls of most so that it has little effect. The ideal, too, of keeping oneself pure for the sake of wife or posterity still has its effect, although this has perhaps of late been rather overworked. Its appeal ought of course to be very strong. Dissuasion on religious grounds probably counts with more soldiers, and here we must admit that the priest has shown himself in general far more effective than the Protestant clergyman. I believe that the most effective appeal of all, however, can be made on the basis of body and mental perfection. Every young man has athletic sympathies, and if he can be shown that purity is the best way of keeping the body at the very top of its condition and of laying in a larger store of reserves against every emergency, an essential step can be taken to make him a practical idealist in this field. But we must not forget that the chief reliance will always have to be placed upon diversions and physical regimen, because we are dealing here with an urge that has its origins and deploys largely far below the threshold of consciousness. At no point does morale coincide more closely with morality. As transcendental sanctions are losing their power, we must build up on a natural basis a new prophylaxis and be able to show that anything is right or wrong according as it is physiologically *and* socially right or wrong, and precisely this the new sex psychology is now engaged in doing.

(e) Only the few intelligent officers or graduates will find help, and they will find great aid for themselves and for a few of their more intelligent friends whom they can influence, in the new and larger interpretation of sex that psychoanalysis has revealed. Normality of the function that transmits life involves more and more emphasis upon secondary sex qualities, more spiritualization of sex, a realization that moral, social, religious, and intellectual life, and not only that but sanity, emotional, volitional, and intellectual, depend upon the proper regulation of this function. War is lost or won chiefly upon the development of secondary sex qualities, and this principle roots deep and blossoms high.

VIII. *Woman and Morale*.—Never have women played such a part in war.¹⁰ We are told that in all the warring countries they

¹⁰ See IDA CLYDE CLARKE: *American Women and the World War*, N. Y.: Appleton, 1918, 544 p. HARRIOT S. BLATCH: *Mobilizing Woman-Power*, N. Y.: The Woman's

have done more work than men with munitions, food, especially the canned varieties, hospital and surgical appliances, and have also taken man's place in every peaceful industry. Her enfranchisement in many aspects of this great movement has advanced by leaps and bounds since the war began. It has also opened as never before the whole question of the relation of the sexes in all its aspects. The mobilization of woman power and its substitution for man power has given her an equal place in the sun. She will soon be able to cast a ballot and be a citizen in practically every country in Europe.

If, however, she had the opportunity to and could do everything as well as man, or better, and did not bring her woman's viewpoint into the new paths and functions now open, all this would mean nothing save doubling our lists of voters and workers. She would have won nothing if she did not realize and now say that the advent of her sex into industrial and political life must materially change its character and goal. Hence the vital problem in this her great epoch is to introduce the best traits of her sex into public and economic life.

Woman is nearer to the race in body and soul and is a better representative of the species than man. She is more phylogenetic than ontogenetic, more altruistic than egoistic. She stands for the future and the past and is charged with the interests of posterity in a very different sense and degree from man. The true woman ranks and grades every human institution according to its service in producing and rearing successive generations to an ever more complete maturity. We need to understand and appreciate in conscious plans what woman more unconsciously always and everywhere chiefly wants, viz., an environment most favorable for her great function of conserving and replenishing the race. Because she is more generic than man and more liable to be injured by excessive and premature specialization, she needs more shelter and

Press, 1918, 194 p. HENRY SPONT: *La Femme et la Guerre*, Paris: Perrin, 1916, 268 p. J. COMBARIEU: *Les Jeunes Filles Françaises et la Guerre*, Paris: Flammarion, 1915, 297 p. HELEN FRASER: *Women and War Work*, N.Y.: Shaw, 1918, 308 p. IRENE O. ANDREWS: *Economic Effects of the War upon Women and Children in Great Britain*, N.Y.: Oxford Univ. Press, 1918, 190 p. GERTRUDE ATHERTON: *The Living Present*, N.Y.: Stokes, 1917, 303 p. LADY RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, Editor: *Women's War Work*, London: Pearson, 1916, 159 p.

A student of this subject must give a prominent place also to the unique cult of Jeanne d'Arc that broke out in France some years before the war and has been greatly heightened by it. "La Pucelle" is now a national holiday in which the descendants of the very Englishmen who fought against France in those days now join (see in W. STEPHENS: *The France I Know*, Chapter XIV, The Cult of Jeanne d'Arc).

protection and responds subtly to everything of this kind. Hence it comes that if she is denied the normal expression of her basal instincts she is liable to become frivolous or anxious, or to immolate herself by becoming a slave or devotee to some cause, or to fall a victim to the many types of subtle invalidism to which she is so liable.

Thus the new post-bellum world should be more of a woman's world, not in the sense of the old matriarchate but in a way that will bring to her and her apostolate for the race a new reverence. These are the real woman's rights. It is thus her task to reëvaluate the world and all its institutions, business, trade, state, church, science, by the supreme test of their service in bringing future generations to an ever more complete maturity. Thus we must regard the voice of Ellen Key and those who agree with her as more or less oracular as to what woman needs, wants, and can and should try to do for the morale of this great reconstruction era.

When the war came, the noblest war brides, mothers, sweethearts, and sisters said, "Go!"¹¹ They condemned slackers ("If I had not gone I could not get near a girl"). Mothers wept, but secretly, and dared not to try to restrain their even young boys who felt the call, but sent them off with a blessing and a cheer. The best wives took up the struggle of self-support, perhaps accepting charity for the first time, and the best husbands and sons understood later, though some of them did not at first. Women kept up every possible connection between their dear ones at the front and their home, concealing everything that could cause pain and showing only courage and good cheer, disguising everything that was bad or discouraging, slow to criticize but swift to praise and hearten, and themselves bearing up if their loved ones were wounded, crippled, or even slain with a composure and heroism which none, least of all they themselves, dreamed they possessed. The reveries of a happy home-coming, dreams sometimes not to be realized, are often the chief consoler in hardships at the front, where home is idealized as nowhere else.

And now women must take up the burden of replenishing the earth, of making good the loss of the seven million dead and the far more partially incapacitated which the war has caused. The inequality of the sexes thus occasioned will soon be restored, for statistics show that in hard times more boys than girls are born.

¹¹ R. W. F.: *Silver Lining. The Experiences of a War Bride*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1918, pp. 45. *Boy of My Heart*. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1916, pp. 221.

The war sentiment will now make it harder for healthy women to refuse wedlock and motherhood and to be slackers to this call, for the pains of war make those of childbirth seem small by contrast. For this service women must volunteer for we trust we shall never have drafts for motherhood, such as the bolsheviki now propose to decree. The revolt of woman, the organization of which has actually been attempted, against giving to the world sons who are going to be cannon fodder is not unnatural, for why should one rear children only to be sacrificed to the war Moloch world without end? But she now has more hope than ever before in the world to encourage her to face this chance, trusting that her children's children at least will be supermen of peace and make an end of war forever. It is the generals of peace now at the helm who ought to be inspired by the ideal morale of women to make a world such as she will count it her noblest honor and privilege to populate. If eugenics is to be the religion of the future women will be its priestesses, for the world a century or two hence will belong to those races and nations that bear and rear the most and the best children.

Perhaps the much debated *Ewige Weibliche* may now take more definite shape as the best embodiment of morale in the world. Anthropologists have told us much of the primitive reverence of the seer-like, intuitive, prophetic traits of women, and perhaps we might now properly lay a single tiny twig of laurel upon the grave of Auguste Comte for the place he gave woman in his *politique*. We can also recognize the deep human instinct that prompted the French revolutionists to make the cult of her divinity a religion, for as great upheavals of society throw men back upon first principles and lay bare the fundamental if unconscious instincts there is a profound tendency to make the more naïve soul of womanhood oracular because her soul, like that of the child, seems nearer to that of the great *Autos* itself.

The danger as the war closes is that women who have been so dazzled by its splendors that they are now rarely pacifists, when they find themselves in bitter competition for jobs with the home-coming soldiers whom they have idealized and who perhaps will be even more ruthless and unchivalrous toward them in this domain because the horrors of war have made them a little more callous, will be more or less disenchanted with them and with life.¹² The demobilization of the great auxiliary armies of women raises, therefore, the question of what substitutes for the excitements of

¹² MARTIN SECKER: *Women*. London: 1918. Pp. 128.

war-work they can find in peace, and what mitigations or consolations may be found in this new war of sex against sex. Is there not danger that each will to the other be robbed of some of the glamour with which war has invested them both in the eyes of the other? This would be disastrous not only economically but socially and would not be in the interests of wedlock or eugenics, nor indeed of morals itself. I can see no way of entirely avoiding this danger, which seems to me grave, but we can at least hope that the new psychology which is most opportunely at the door and which stresses the all-dominance of unconscious and affective forces, and which might almost be heralded as the advent of the woman's soul into psychology will in time mitigate this danger and slowly evolve a new atmosphere of appreciation and respect of woman's services in every walk of life, which will give her the spiritual *milieu* without which she is so prone to go to pieces. If in utilizing the new opportunities that suffrage in about all the warring countries brings to her she can make herself in this the greatest crisis in the history of her sex more womanly and not more manlike, she will, as the world slips back into peace, do most to make it a new and better one.

IX. *Morale and Placards.*—When at the outset of the war England was confronted with the problem of raising a vast army as quickly as possible the Secretary of State for War, Colonel Seely, called upon Mr. Hedley LeBas, a London publisher who had been deeply interested in the psychology and practise of advertising and who was allowed, not without much hesitation in conservative England, *carte blanche* to stimulate enlistment in any way. Some of the best artists were engaged, and a series of about one hundred and fifty posters were soon conspicuously displayed all over Great Britain with a message it was hard to ignore. All agreed that they were a prominent if not the chief factor in raising a volunteer army of over three million men. When and before recruiting was superseded by the draft the same method was applied to war loans, and by its aid over three billion dollars were raised in two weeks. In this country posters, beginning with those of the Marines, have played a great rôle, and many American artists, Blashfield, Kenyon Cox, Reuter dahl, Gibson, Pennell and others were enlisted. While our government issued only two posters for the first Liberty Loan, private organizations flooded the country in each drive. All countries have used them for Red Cross, food, the wounded, and indeed every war purpose.

Art in a somewhat stricter sense has also helped military morale by producing many notable pictures and especially series which have been very important factors. Raemaekers of Holland has made his art a potent factor for morale. He has produced hundreds of striking anti-Teutonic pictures so effective that the German government is said to have sought him so persistently that he fled to England, and he was charged with jeopardizing the neutrality of Holland.¹³ A few French artists have had immense influence and vogue, e.g., Georges Scott, who had followed the Balkan campaign as a reporter-illustrator and who was appointed one of the four official painters to the French armies; also Lucien Jonas, whose remarkable, sometimes allegorical compositions were, like those of Scott, executed at the front. Icart was the first to successfully introduce the airplane, which is a new and awkward topic for canvas. His *Spirit of the Air* and *The Defense of Paris* brought him into instant fame. Many of his pictures illustrated the relations of woman to war. Then there is Levy-Dhurmer, whose pictures are charming but sad, his best series being perhaps that entitled "Mothers of the War." Poulbot has a hundred pictures illustrating the effects of the war upon children.¹⁴ The French have used art more effectively than any other country for mutilated soldiers. They have also offered prizes to children for pictures, especially those concerning food in war-time.¹⁵

Thus the war has been a veritable inspiration to scores of artists, and by its aid they have brought home its terrible realities in all its details and have also brought out, perhaps even more effectively than poetry or music have been able to do, the ideality always latent in it. Not until the history of this great conflict has been written up shall we realize to what an amazing extent art has simply been the very incarnation of war morale. Many of these artists have already been decorated, and the end of the war by no means marks the end of their influence or of their work, which the briefest description of some of these masterpieces of emotional appeal, were there space for it here, would itself show.

Closely connected with this work has been the use of titles, slogans, and watchwords, in which the spirit of the war has also

¹³ *Raemaekers' Cartoon History of the War*. Compiled by J. MURRAY ALLISON N.Y.: Century Co., 1918.

¹⁴ *Des Gosses*.

¹⁵ Clark University has about 6,000 of these artistic war pictures, including proclamations. See the Librarian's report, *The War Collection at Clark University Library*, October, 1918.

been embodied and which are very generally, especially in the posters, connected with pictures. Every country has them.

Ils ne passeront pas.

Ne l'en fait pas; on les aura.

Go on or go under.

If you cannot give a life you can save a life.

Don't lag! Follow your Flag!

Picture of a bugler blowing. A vacant space in the ranks.

Legend: Fall In!

Soldier pointing to a beautiful landscape. Legend: Isn't This Worth Fighting For?

Soldier with a beckoning finger. An Appeal To You.

Picture of St. George slaying the dragon. Legend: Britain Needs You At Once.

A soldier: Make Us As Proud of You as We Are of Him.

Have you a reason or only an excuse?

You are proud of your pals in the army but what do they think of you?

How will you answer your boy who says, "What did you do in the great war?"

A gray-haired mother saying to her boy, "Go, it is your duty."

A picture of troops in battle almost overwhelmed. Legend: Why Don't They Come?

Picture of Whistler's "Mother." Legend: Fight For Her.

The O'Leary posters.

Picture of pretty Irish colleen pointing to burning Belgian house, and saying, "Will you go or must I?"

Columbia sleeping. Legend: Wake Up America.

Liberty Bell. Ring It Again.

Desperate battle in the background, Uncle Sam in the foreground with drawn sword. Legend: "Hold the Fort for I Am Coming."

If You Can't Enlist, Invest.

Don't Read History; Make It.

American girl in a middy blouse. Gee, I Wish I Was a Man; I'd Join the Navy.

Munitions being loaded labelled "Rush." Legend: Help Deliver the Goods.

Man of the signal corps wiwagging. Legend: He Is Getting Our Country's Signal. Are You?

A soldier on an observation post. Legend: The Country Is Looking for a Fit Man. Are You Fit?

French girl waving the tricolor over the sea. Legend: Come Across and Help Us.

You Come Across or Germany Will.

Boxing match between Uncle Sam and the Kaiser, who has just had an "upper cut." Legend: Be In At The Finish.

Our Hat Is In the Ring; Come In and Put One On.

Shall We Be More Tender With Our Dollars Than With the Lives of Our Sons?

Daddy Is Fighting At the Front For You. Back Him Up. Buy Bonds.

Shall We Conquer or Submit?

A message from the front: When Are The Other Boys Coming?

Picture of Germans plundering a cottage. Legend: Is Your Home Worth Fighting For?

Three Soldiers playing cards in front of a dugout. Legend: Will You Make The Fourth?

Are You Playing the Game?

Obey Your Impulse Now.

Telephone operator at the front calling, "We want more men." Legend: Will You Answer This Call?

How Will You Cheer the Boys Coming Home If You Have Done Nothing?

Picture of a soldier's cap. Legend: If This Cap Fits You, Put It On.

Picture of jolly soldier with full equipment. Legend: Come Along, Boys.

Picture of Lord Roberts. Legend: He Did His Duty. Will You Do Yours?

A bare, muscular arm with clenched fist. Legend: Lend Your Strong Right Arm To The Country.

Every dollar makes the Kaiser holler.

Buy a gun to beat the Hun.

Bondmen now or freemen forever.

A man who won't lend is the Kaiser's friend.

Liberty bond or Liberty bound. Which?¹⁶

The pithy epigram and the cartoon have done great things in the world but never greater than in this war. Years ago the Toledo fad, which for a time had quite a vogue, of posting a new cardboard

¹⁶ It is said that the German government early tabooed war pictures that represented doleful scenes, and required happy faces. Not many of these have yet reached this country but such of them as I have seen, at any rate, very greatly stress the festive side of war.

motto each day in school was thought to make the chief moral qualities percolate into the deeper regions of the soul. Christian Science has used this method with its health axioms. Calendars and card posters exhorting to primary virtues are issued now in series and are posted, with daily or weekly changes, in very many factories and in offices. These apothems are thought to be hardly less pregnant than Bible texts were once regarded, and they do have not a magical but a real psychological efficacy as morale-bracers. Posters of all kinds short-circuit books and newspapers, like the old broadsides, and a chapter might be written on posted proclamations in the war. Pictures find their way very effectively into the souls of even those who cannot read. These methods uncap impulses that may be made to spur men on to great decisions, while if the true function of art is to conserve ideality in the world and give to every act its best and not its worst interpretation we can realize that when war throws men back into the power of their primitive emotions such agencies as these may have all the challenge and arousing power of the most effective of the old battle cries and rallying slogans. It is true that these appeals may have precipitated decisions to enlist or give which were later regretted, and perhaps with good ground. As after revivalistic conversions men may backslide, so in soldiers the high tide that swept them into the army may ebb, but even in such cases part of their total self is committed for the war, and even in the worst cases it is better to have loved these great causes for a time and have lapsed from them than never to have loved them at all.

X. *War Aims*.—Sagacious men saw even before we entered the conflict the great need of setting before the minds of the public, and especially the soldier, just what we were fighting for. President Wilson has done perhaps his best service in suggesting these goals. The philosophers of idealism, like Hocking, criticize the attitude of, for example, Eltinge, who would rely more on unconscious, instinctive crowd impulses to give men the fighting edge. As a result of all this effort the mind of the intelligent soldier has come to realize more and more that we were the leader of the world's democracy, that we were fighting a war of liberation against autocracy and militarism, and there can be no doubt that the efficiency of our soldiers has been greatly increased by this general belief.

But specific, conscious aims belong rather to the preliminary or to the subsequent reflective stages of warfare, and on the ragged

edge of battle it is the momentum given by ideas which, while a very important factor, is of less consequence than impulses that spring from the instinct of self-preservation, pugnacity, gregariousness, our preliminary beliefs, the general set of the will, fear, anger, etc. Even the conscientious objector in the charge has to fight, and very few can stand out long against the all-compelling sentiment of the crowd.

It was perhaps fortunate for us that we did not plunge into the war more precipitately because all the time we were planning and preparing public sentiment was being educated and opinion was being formed by leaps and bounds, and this was the change that made possible our own wonderful achievements in the end. The war was so big, we were so uninformed about European conditions, our press had to undergo such an intensive self-education in order to meet the emergency that the problem of realizing what we were up against was a tremendous one. This education, however, has made us forever and in a new sense a member of the nations of the Old World. Our intellectual and even our material interests have undergone an enormous and unprecedented expansion. We can never return to our old blindness and provincialism. Even if the Monroe Doctrine is imperiled we are destined henceforth to be not only an integral but a leading member of the family of nations. Not only that, but Europe looks to us with a respect and a degree of newly felt dependence that no one could have dreamed of even three years ago.

It has been an inspiration at home and was a great and unpredictable factor in the European settlement that our aims were in a sense disinterested. True, we profited enormously by European contracts, and without doubt we would have supplied Germany no less freely had this been practicable. But the fact that we want no land, no indemnities, have given enormous sums and prepared our huge army and suffered our own share of losses, that it was all a free gift to a great cause, has elevated the morale of not only our army but of the country and of the world by a spectacle unprecedented in history. It is this that has given us an opportunity for a new world leadership which, if Congress and the press has the vision to see and to utilize to the uttermost, will be the acid test of their own patriotic sagacity. The problem before the country now is: Shall we enter upon this new leadership to which we seem to be called, and can we make ourselves worthy of it?

XI. *Morale and Conscientious Objectors.*—The fact that in the

present war Great Britain took action against barely one thousand genuine cases, and that such were numbered only by hundreds in this country is suggestive, for we are told that the paucity of numbers is an index of the clarity of conviction regarding the righteousness of the cause. While conscientious objectors generally meet with scant sympathy in army or camp, where they are often hazed, bullied, and outlawed by sentiment and in a few cases, we are told, have actually been killed, there are many, on the other hand, who have the adroitness and tact to be efficient as peace propagandists that make them very insidious enemies of army morale. The genuine objectors were exempted from active fighting early in the war by England, and religious objectors were placed in the noncombatant army service of this country by the President's order of March 20, 1918. The conscientious objector is unknown or not heard of, or at least has no voice on the continent, and is also of course unknown save under conscription. There are at least nine religious bodies in this country, of which the Quakers are best known (they have modified their attitude since the war began) whose creed makes them oppose war under all conditions. Tolstoi's example and influence in this direction, we are often told, had much to do with the debacle in Russia, and the objector conceives himself as in line with the ancient Christians, many of whom were ready to become martyrs rather than join the Roman legions. On the one hand the very theory of democracy favors the recognition of the right of private judgment, and respect of conscience is something too sacred to be interfered with, although conscription began with the French Revolution and through history has oftenest been practised by republics, autocracies preferring standing armies. Here, and far more in England, there has been much written on the subject,¹⁷ and many recusants who have been imprisoned have written up their experiences in a pathetic way, while there has been a deluge of magazine articles on the subject, some by high judicial and other authorities (like Prof. A. V. Dicey, Gilbert Murray, and W. R. Stather Hunt). Many hold that nothing will justify the state in compelling a man to do what his deepest convictions forbid.

On the other hand, thuggism and the suttee were inspired by religion, while at the other extreme today in several lists of conscientious objectors agnostics lead and there are almost no two

¹⁷ MRS. H. HOBHOUSE: *I Appeal Unto Caesar*, and G. G. COULTON: *The Case for Compulsory Military Service* (London, 1917) give the most convenient surveys.

socialist objectors who agree as to the grounds of their opposition. Socrates is well cited as a citizen who felt it his duty to die for the state if it so decreed. The law makes short shift with extreme Christian Scientists who refuse to employ doctors for dangerous diseases or with those who object on conscientious grounds to paying their taxes or to sending their children to school. The judgments of conscience are often erratic, and many crimes have been committed in its name. A French writer in a very sensational book justified the regicide Ravailac because in slaying Henry IV he was actuated by what seemed to him religious motives.

The most difficult matter, of course, is to determine in each case from the previous life and character of the objector whether his scruples are sincere. For every genuine case there are probably a dozen slackers, cowards, shirkers, and malingerers, and the convictions of those who have any are often superficial and extemporized. The examiners who test these cases sometimes have a hard task, though generally experience enables them to decide quickly and truly. Many take cover under religious creeds with which they are shown to have only the very slightest acquaintance, or claim Biblical grounds for their remonstrance when they know almost nothing of the Scriptures. Some are anarchists and against all governments, others are neurotics, but it is important for the morale of an army that all these pretenders, as well as the genuine cases, be at least unmasked.

One very simple acid test has been suggested for those who object to war as inhuman. They are asked whether they are willing to alleviate suffering and danger by working on mine-sweepers or as stretcher-bearers. Those who refuse these most dangerous functions can hardly escape the brand of cowardice as at least a factor in their vaunted humanitarianism. Some declare themselves ready to assuage the suffering of the severely or mortally wounded but not that of those who are less injured, because by their aid the latter may be enabled to become fighters again. A motley crew of these slackers have become refugees from all countries in a New York club, *From The Four Winds*, mainly fugitives from the English Defense of the Realm Act. To refuse all service in the Medical or Quartermaster corps, in engineering or railroad service because of these objections, and to take the twenty-eight days of solitary confinement and the added two months of prohibition to write or receive letters or visits, and to bear the contumely of the community rather than serve in a good cause would

seem to indicate that the objector has too much will for his intellect and lacks something of the gregarious or social instinct that makes a desirable citizen. One writer estimates twenty-five thousand real or pretended conscientious objectors all-told in this country.

To most the conscientious objector is a nuisance. He thinks himself a sufferer for conscience sake and so entitled to pity and respect. These kickers have brought the very name conscience into disrepute, and many think the preferential treatment accorded them is unpolitic. One suggests they should be made to read and answer the dialogue between Socrates and the Laws and also the end of the *Crito*. On the other hand, in the days of the Fugitive Slave Law and in very many other cases those who have chosen to obey their conscience by breaking the law of the land have been right. For fifteen months the objector could emigrate from England, and it was held that his refusal to do so implied acquiescence, because if his objection was not strong enough to induce him to make this sacrifice discriminatory treatment was not justified. In England it was found that there was very much money of suspicious origin spent in fomenting schools of objectors and persuading those who wanted exemption on other grounds that they might use this. Some interesting analyses have been given of a moral state in these *soi-disant* objectors which is clearly morbid. Some of them are psychically masochists and love to suffer and sometimes have sex abnormalities. Others are unstable and catch any fanaticism that is in the air, losing their sense of proportion and even their mental balance.

Thus the objectors are a motley crew. While the conduct of a few may suggest moral sublimity and heroism, the majority are imperfectly socialized and hyperindividualized, and because soldiering requires the subordination of each to the will of one command the presence of these in an army is always dangerous. They should be excluded from the army not so much out of respect to their idiosyncrasies or even their convictions as because they may become the most insidious of all the foes of morale.

XII. *Music and Morale*.—Why do psychologists who write on army morale never mention music, which is one of its most important adjuvants? Plato praised the stately Doric and the martial Phrygian modes and would banish from his ideal Republic the softer Lydian and other modes as enervating. This would practically exclude music of home, love, and nature. W. L. Spaulding gives us a glimpse of the ancient and medieval rôle of

music in war. A German Committee examined and rejected 3,200 compositions written in competition for a prize offered for a fit national anthem. So far this war has produced nothing that begins to compare with *Die Wacht am Rhine*, which has almost become a symbol in that country of the war of 1870, the spirit of which it so well conserves; or with our *Battle Hymn of the Republic*, which expresses the American militant spirit of our Civil War.

General J. F. Bell said: "A songless army would lack in fighting spirit in proportion as it lacked responsiveness to music. There is no more potent force for developing unity in an army than song." It makes a good soldier a better, and a trained soldier a more perfect one. We read how the ennobling war songs, *Sambre et Meuse* and *Père la Victoire* sustained the French at Verdun and elsewhere. Soon after we entered the war a national committee was formed, with F. Hammer at its head, to induce soldiers to sing. Soon every camp had its song leader, and a school for training these leaders was established in New York with H. Barholt, the noted leader of community singing, at its head. Conditions were novel, and new tracts had to be broken. A roster of musical ability was made out, and concerts were organized as well as regimental bands.

When Mr. Stiles first mounted a soap box at Camp Devens and demanded that every private and officer in the assembly show his teeth and smile as if this were a drill order, his hearers were taken aback at first and chaffed, but they soon found that he was a good fellow, could take as well as give banter, and in a short time he had them singing the chorus of *Smile, Smile, Smile*, and their troubles, for the moment at least, went into the "old kit-bag."

The answers of these song leaders to a questionnaire I sent them showed very great differences in repertoires and also in the favorite songs in the different camps, but all testified to a unique hunger for music as a feeder of the very soul and stressed its power to key up exhausted nerves and muscles. Altogether these reports gave overwhelming proof that music had become no longer a luxury but a necessity for the soldier. It is a great bracer on a long hike, "eyes brightened, shoulders straightened, ranks closed up," etc. It is the best safeguard against care, worry, and homesickness. Americans tend to hide their real feelings, but their love of jocularities and extravaganzas cannot resist the catchy lilt of such chanteys as *Long Boy*. Idiotic jingles, and sometimes endless rhymes like *Ninety-Nine Bottles Hanging on a Wall* may make them forget fatigue near the end of a long march. Often one group of soldiers

sings for a mile or two and then the song is taken up by another group, and this may go on for hours. Not only are great liberties often taken with both music and words but the latter are sometimes permanently changed. Perhaps the height of extravagance is reached in the many songs which tell what the Sammies will do when they get to Berlin or to the Kaiser, Hindenburg, etc., when they catch them. There are songs, too, of all grades of merit and a wide range of sentiment dealing with every petty detail of the soldier's life, which our doughboys so love to see in a musical mirror.

Some simple songs of perhaps low musical quality have made a very direct appeal to soldier morale. *Where Do We Go From Here* suggests deeds accomplished and a pressure for fresh demands for still greater deeds, along with a spirit of entire subjection. *I Don't Care Where They Send Me* indicates something like a fatalistic submission and obedience. *Keep the Home Fires Burning* brings a vital touch in memory with home and makes the soldier realize that he is defending his dearest treasures. *The Long, Long Trail*, which several leaders call the song of songs in their camp, sounds a note of yearning, fate, with an Omar Khayyam touch of pathos. *Over There*, and *Keep Your Head Down*, *Fritzie Boy* are psychologically akin to the menacing gestures and shouts of savage tribes working themselves up to the frenzy of attack. Before some of these even *Tipperary*, the unprecedented world song, has paled somewhat in popularity. In the collections of camp songs I have listed some two-score more which seem to me must contribute more or less both to unify and to fortify the soul of the soldier. Indeed the country owes a great debt to many composers of the second or third class of merit who have voiced the soldier's heart and helped to form his will. In some camps stress is laid upon having the soldiers join in community singing or, vice versa, in bringing the community to the camp for song. In France our boys have learned many songs of their Allies and have taught them their own songs, which has created a spirit of fraternity.

Of the five great themes of song,—patriotism and war, love, home, nature, and fun,—our soldiers are inclined to take patriotism for granted and are not especially fond of singing about it. Even *America* and *The Star Spangled Banner* are rather reserved for formal occasions, and are not often called for or spontaneously sung. A very different class of music is wanted about the camp-fire than is in demand during drill or outdoors, when music more

closely associated with action is preferred. Of these five classes, love of friends at home, especially sweethearts, leads. In all the history of war love has been a very fundamental note, subordinated, as it has to be, to the stress and strain of war; and, unlike Plato, modern military authorities have not thought it inimical to morale but a kind of compensation or vicariate for hardship and battle strain. I have not found a single American song that deals directly with going over the top. The mind of the American soldier evades this as something he never wishes to be reminded of until the emergency compels him to face it. Our soldiers, too, never sing songs of death of their own free will. Only a few religious songs have been popular, and half the great vogue of *Onward, Christian Soldiers* is due to the fact that it is an excellent march. The amount and degree of bathos that our boys relish would seem to have no limit.

Thus music for us has proved not so much an art as a bracer, and perhaps still more a diverter. Many old songs have survived; more so, as far as I can figure out, in England with its conservative tendencies than in any of the other Allied countries. Old songs are often mainly nuclei of sentiment and are charged with reminiscences vague but strongly toned with affectivity. They are dear to us because of their many associations, personal and national. Most Frenchmen who sing the *Marseillaise* remember that it was the song of the group of Girondists before the guillotine, which grew dim as each head fell into the basket, only one voice finally chanting it until the fatal knife ended it in the middle of a note. With us the old songs naturally prevailed at first because better known, and some still persist; and while certain folk songs and even old darky music have survived, as the war went on these have tended to be superseded by newer compositions. Dialect, songs with dances or that involve much dramatic action, perhaps with costume and impersonations have also had a place. Nicolai claims that war poetry and music are always of an inferior quality, but this war has been a prodigious stimulus to productions, at which classicism may be inclined to sneer but which, even if they are Philistine, get in their good work.

We shall never fully realize the importance of music for morale until we see clearly once and for all that psychologically music is par excellence the language of the heart, feelings, moods, dispositions, sentiments, emotions, and attitudes, indeed of nearly all our vast unconscious life. It is just as much so as speech is the lan-

guage of the senses and the intellect and, to a less extent, of the will. Music, then, is the organ of affectivity and hence deals with what is more intangible and imponderable, though often far more potent, especially to the group mind, than ideas or concepts. Even nations and races sing out their hearts and reveal in music their deepest and most characteristic traits. Incidentally it should be remembered that song gives voice to our young officers who often so strangely lack it, so much so that to Mr. Lloyd has been assigned the task of developing this use of it. From this its nature music ought to develop all the classes of sentiment and feeling, and indirectly it tends to strengthen the deeper, unconscious instincts men have in common and to fuse souls together.

French war music has some unique features. By the closing of the theatres and vaudevilles many Parisian artists who lived by the drama were in dire distress, and some of them became ballad singers in cafés and on the streets and squares, and acquired both vogue and profit. The Parisian was too tense to sit through a play but singers of both sexes wandered about, sang, and sold songs of their own composition. One noted soprano produced *The Marseillaise of the Dead*, which immediately had the greatest popularity. Very many incidents of the war have thus been cast not only into poetry but into song, like that of the boy of seven who was killed by a German because he aimed a wooden gun at him. Thus every sentiment connected with the war has been besung, and many of its tragic incidents preserved. Joseph Lee insists that music is one of the very first things to keep soldiers well in body and to maintain their morale at concert pitch, and thus the French have used it. Songs with a sectional appeal are less common in this country than in Germany.

The German soldier music has traits all its own. On the whole the Teutons are more musical and also fonder of harmony and part song. They have hardly a trace of the American passion for beating time or for ragtime. They are also too serious for fun. The Germans sing about death, which the American never does, and thrill at the very word "*Deutschland*." They put more *Gemüt* than *pep* into their songs. *Das Volk Steht Auf* describes in a thrilling way the awakening of the people as the storm of war broke over them, and how all became brothers and would die together if need be for the Vaterland. *Erhebet Euch von der Erde* was a trumpet call to the people to arouse, seize their arms, consecrate themselves to the fearful chance of death, and expect help from the German God.

Das treue deutsche Herz, Kein schönerer Tod auf dieser Welt, Du Deutschland, Des Kriegers Abschied, Des Seemanns Los illustrate, as their titles indicate, the serious, death-defying spirit of men terribly in earnest.

In the cultivation of music in the army we are unfortunately far behind. The late Major F. A. Mahan, in an official report in 1914 by order of the Secretary of War, said, "All over the world, save in our own country, the necessity of cultivating this force (moral force or morale) is recognized." He found us very deficient. Four years later General Pershing found our bands in France so small that they "failed to serve the purpose of a moral force on the morale of our troops at the front" and recommended (1) an increased personnel, (2) a larger and more logical instrumentation, (3) a consistent method of band training. To this the Chief of Staff responded, and we have now a United States Army Music School such as France achieved under the influence of Napoleon and which the British copied sixty years ago when their Royal Military School of Music was established. Generals Corbin and Bell have advocated singing also as a promoter of morale, and the chief of our army music school, Captain A. A. Clappe, has set forth its needs and functions in a masterly article.¹⁸

Of poems the war has produced a prodigious quantity in all lands. It is interesting to note that before the close of the second year the Germans had graded and given prizes for the best of some fifty thousand poems by the German children who attempted to woo the Muse of War. The Clark Library has several shelves of bound volumes of war poems, and a few, although of course necessarily premature attempts have been made to evaluate them and select the best. Both poetry and war stories have played an important role in morale, though probably far less than music.

XIII. *Reading and Morale*.—Every home camp has its library and librarians. After the first weeks, when the recruits begin to harden, they do considerable reading, and a year ago it was estimated that there were some 45,000 college men in the army.

From answers to a circular I sent to each camp librarian it is interesting to note that despite the surprising difference in camps fiction leads, with tales of adventure and mystery taking the first place. Kipling, Doyle, McCutcheon, O. Henry, Tarkington, Oppenheim, Haggard, London, Wells, H. B. Wright, Mrs. Barclay's *Rosary*, Hornaday's *The Man Who Became a Savage* are

¹⁸ Music as a Moral Force on Morale. *Infantry Journal*, March, 1919.

samples of favorites. Next to fiction comes the demand for books about France, the French language and literature, and for military subjects, including engineering. Camp examinations brought a call for other classes of books, and indeed literature of almost every type has its patrons. Only books for girls, indecent literature, and German propaganda were barred, and the drive of December, 1917, brought many gifts. Very little effort, however, was made to guide reading.

My suggestion was that each camp library provide books describing the conquest of America by Germany, to compensate somewhat for our distance and aloofness by bringing possibilities home to reënforce morale. The chief of these are H. G. Wells' *The War in the Air* (1917), focusing in the battle of New York; Homer Lea's *The Valor of Ignorance* (1909), describing a Japanese invasion of our Pacific coast; J. B. Walker's *America Fallen!* (1915), a very realistic story designed to check our confidence and *laissez faire*; C. Moffett's *The Conquest of America* (1916); T. Dixon's *The Fall of a Nation* (1916), a horrible tale of what might happen here if pacifism prevailed; H. Maxim's *Defenseless America* (1915); J. W. Müller's *The Invasion of America* (1916).¹⁹ While some of these works are highly imaginative, several of them are written with the coöperation of military and naval experts and describe events that the authors believe might actually happen, the idea being that perusal of works of this class would help us to realize how the French and Belgians do feel.

Soldiers read what others do, but with much difference. It is a good sign that poetry, especially Kipling, Alan Seeger, Tennyson, etc., are much in demand. Religious reading has been less than was predicted. The American Bible Society has issued in army and navy editions, since we entered the war, about two and one quarter million volumes of the Scriptures, but despite the injunctions of President Wilson and Ex-President Roosevelt to the soldiers to read it, there is a great difference of opinion as to how extensively this has been done.

Few read spontaneously to fortify their spirits either against the hardships or dangers of war; more to clarify their convictions of the righteousness of their cause. Hygiene, too, makes some appeal; but,

¹⁹ On the invasion of England see *The Battle of Dorking* (1871); DU MAURIER'S *An Englishman's Home* (1909); E. CHILDERS'S *The Riddle of the Sands* (1903); Lequeux's *The Coming of the Germans to England* (1914); REDMOND-HOWARD'S *Hindenburg's March to London* (1916).

on the whole, the motive of diversion seems to exceed that of practical preparation.

Reading anything is a sedative. To feed the new interests aroused by entering a military life is a problem which the war did not last long enough for us to entirely solve, though we have realized its significant aid to morale. Just how and in what direction to stimulate reading under training-camp conditions is a new, vast problem which librarians have not yet solved.²⁰

XIV. *Morale and War Collections*.—The collection instinct, which is illustrated in the life history of many insects and animals and which is always strong and has often been studied in children, has found unprecedented expressions concerning this war. Many children and schools in all the belligerent countries, many of which already have their war cabinet of curios, have assembled relics and reminders, largely local, of all kinds of material illustrating altogether every phase of the great conflict both at home and at the front. War is such a unique experience that its conditions, sentiments, and activities tend to fade from realization like a bad dream as nothing else can do, for nowhere is the envisagement of full reality so intolerable; and there is a strong instinct, lest we forget, to gather relics and mementoes to keep it alive in our own minds and to ensure the perpetuation of its grim actualities for future generations. War museums of every kind are thus in a sense temples of morale and protests against its obliteration.

This is not the place to describe these vast activities in detail, but a few data will show their scope and their purpose. In the first days of mobilization Henri Leblanc and his wife began to gather objects in France, and their collection, now numbering nearly one quarter of a million articles, has been taken over and given elaborate and fitting quarters by the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts and its catalogue is being published volume by volume. England followed suit and established a national war museum under Sir Martin Conway, which is formulated on a very comprehensive plan. The great national libraries of Europe and a few libraries in this country have made special collections of war literature, but in all these fields the material is so voluminous that not only most private collectors but heads of great institutions have been discouraged, and it is now recognized that very much of this material is so fugitive that it is beyond reach unless it is gathered very promptly at the time. A really adequate assemblage of all

²⁰ T. W. KOCH: *War Libraries and Allied Studies*, N. Y.: Stechert, 1918, 287 p.

this material can never be found in any single institution or even in any single country. As early as August in 1914 the Imperial Library in Berlin set apart fifteen members of its staff to collect, sort, classify, and catalogue war literature. Agents were sent abroad to all countries, and patriotic appeals were made to private individuals the world over. Early in 1916 there were 10,000 books, and in a single day four and one half tons of newspapers arrived.

The French museum, which so far as objects are concerned excels all others, collects everything: firearms and projectiles of all kinds, uniforms, medals, insignia, postcards, war fashions in dress at home, illustrations of everything connected with feeding the army as well as home dietaries and food substitutes, trench journals, processes of manufacture and transportation of munitions and supplies, army wagons, transports, Zeppelins, airplanes, submarines, soldiers' letters, posters, slogans, knapsacks, grenades, minnewerfer, gas masks and generators, innumerable photographs of devastated regions and wrecked buildings, of atrocities, mutilations and corpse-strewn battlefields, flags, and scrap-books. Dolls and figurines are used to illustrate many processes. There is a department for camouflage and protective coloring generally, engineering, gas alarm gongs, trench signs, street-lamp shades to conceal from airplanes, explosive pencils, means of infecting the enemy and his animals with disease, infernal machines, bombs, devices for incendiarism and looting. Very complete is the representation of medical activities, pictures and documents showing all the marvels of surgery,—even the details of how features and parts of the face torn away are restored,—how to treat every kind of wound, artificial limbs, disinfection, uses of the Carrel processes and of the Dakin fluid, tents, and sanitary barracks. Sometimes the illustrations are by models but when possible the objects themselves are displayed. We have also a German plan which is hardly less complete, but I can find no data to show how far this work has actually been developed there.

Indeed the work of nearly all museums has been more or less stimulated and diverted. In museums of Natural History, for example, it is shown how killing birds that destroy noxious insects and weed seeds help the enemy, so that a boy who robs the nest of such a bird is a traitor without knowing it; for insects are as harmful as bullets. The same is true of keeping down rodents that destroy one hundred million dollars' worth of food here per year, and we may need liberty bonds to pay tribute to the mosquito, gypsy moth,

English sparrow, etc. One museum specializes on dye-stuffs, designs, native foods, and fabrics significant for war. Some have done research, others have invoked the aid of children. One attends chiefly to trade-marks, while there are many collections of cartoons.

The romance of war in the days of chivalry has gone, and the concept that dominates everything now is efficiency, which gives a new ideal even to art. It has been suggested that a rudimentary Westminster or Walhalla be established in every town or country, containing medals, portraits, and a vellum volume containing the name and the significant items in the life of every fallen soldier. This would be an epitome of local heroism, and would help to perpetuate the memory and influence particularly of those who have gone to a watery grave and whose bodies must remain unidentified. These would be perpetual incentives to self-sacrifice and would give zest to local history teaching.

The necessity of such collections for the future historian is obvious. The interest of the public in them is shown by the fact that admission fees to the Henri Leblanc collection in the Pavillon de Flore, it is estimated, will bring a revenue of some half a million francs a year. But their chief value for morale is that the very awfulness and unnaturalness of war tend to make its memory shrink and fade, so far as proper realization of it is concerned, to a degree that perhaps only a psychologist can realize. Today the world with one accord has swung over from the war fever to its opposite, and the desire for peace was never so strong. The function of these collections is to perpetuate this reaction by keeping the memory of all the ghastliness of war green, by keeping before the public mind what we owe to our soldiers, to whose deeds and sufferings such collections are one of the most fitting monuments, and to supply artists and writers of all kinds with details that would otherwise soon be lost. If, as some claim, human nature after a long period of peace tends revert to to a state of war, familiarity with these objects would tend in some degree to vicariate for the actuality of war, and, if it comes, would also tend to nerve the souls of our descendants to its hardships and vicissitudes.

XV. *Medals and Decoration*.—In the *Congressional Record*, July 12, 1917, we have the text of a law relating to the award of "medals of honor" to each person, "officer or enlisted man who shall hereafter in action involving actual conflict with the enemy distinguish himself conspicuously by gallantry and intrepidity at

the risk of his own life above and beyond the call of duty." In addition, this law provides for a service medal to be awarded by the President for distinguished service any time during the last three years, and this is to supersede the former certificate of merit. The service medal involves an added pay of two dollars a month, and for each additional deed of valor, instead of a new medal, the President may award another bar, each of which bars also involves two dollars a month.

In France the most coveted of all is the Cross of the Legion of Honor (1802) with a motto, "Honneur et Patrie," and with five grades. Besides its veteran's medal to those who fought in the war of '70, the French Croix de Guerre is given to all officers or privates for deeds of valor, especially on the battlefield (April, 1915). This honors even families, and there is a ritual form of conferring it and it plays a prominent part in funerals. It may be revoked for unworthy conduct. There is also a military medal (1852) for officers who have won distinction, which may be conferred in time of peace, besides many colonial and foreign medals (Sailard).

In England the war medal is comparatively modern and culminates in the Victoria Cross. But there are many types of medal given in all the important wars since these were established, some two-score in a l.²¹

Germany leads all countries, and since the sixteenth century there have been some 580 different varieties (G. F. Hill: *The Commemorative Medal in the Service of Germany*). Of all these the Iron Cross is the best known and most desired.²²

The Croix de Guerre has often been awarded to our soldiers in France, and General Pershing says, "Such recognition is a powerful incentive to gallantry in action, and American soldiers should not be denied the privilege of displaying these insignia of honor because of the old prohibition of accepting decorations from a foreign state."

It would seem that from every psychological point of view, and from the higher pedagogy, men who have deliberately risked their lives in desperate ventures for the public good should be recognized as belonging in some sense to the élite, for such deeds are only the culmination of morale. The world honors its

²¹ W. A. STEWARD: *War Medals and Their History*, London: 1915. Also H. T. DORLING: *Ribbons and Medals*, London: 1916.

²² HANS E. VON ZOBELTITZ: *Das Eiserne Kreuz*, Leipzig: 1914.

dead heroes; why not its living ones? What should also be done is to see to it that each sublime act of courage is duly and worthily recorded that it may exert its due and permanent influence. Such distinctions set a back-fire to the feeling often current among soldiers that their achievements are not sufficiently recognized and that the government lacks gratitude.

XVI. *Morale and Knowledge*.—The psychology of evidence, started experimentally by Binet and Stern and applied by many legal writers to testimony, shows how hard it is for the most honest observers to state accurately the most indifferent facts. Dramatic incidents prepared and enacted as a class-room exercise and described by onlookers are reproduced by individuals of the class with great differences, even in essentials, and where oral statements are given and reported by a series of persons they come back to their source with changes directly proportional to the number of minds through which they have passed. When strong emotions are excited facts are still more distorted, and rumors run very wildly, for the critical faculty is in abeyance and the mob mind often shows a credulity that is almost unlimited. The early stages of the war abounded in fantastic, sometimes almost panicky reports in all countries, especially during and just after mobilization when the public on the street was so eager for information that if it was not forthcoming it was supplied by the imagination, and sometimes suggestibility was so intense that delusions were common, as, for example, in the "angels at Mons," the apparition of which the English Psychic Research Society has found various witnesses who testified on oath to seeing. Many believe that 180,000 Russian soldiers were transported secretly by sea from Vladivostok to England and thence to France. The Germans believed so intensely that a yellow auto was going through their country from France to Russia loaded with money that such vehicles were stopped, and in a few cases their drivers were shot. Every stranger was liable to be suspected and even arrested as a spy, and in all the European countries warnings were issued against talking of the war in public. A long list of often preposterous tales won wide credence. In times of great excitement all are prone to believe what they wish, and overdrawn feelings tend very strongly to create if they cannot find facts to justify them.

As to press censorship, it passed through three rather distinct stages. Hundreds of correspondents with little preliminary knowledge of European affairs and sometimes of continental languages

were rushed to the scene of war and, affronted that military authorities weighed out all scraps of information to them as carefully as if they were diamonds, and as the American reporters especially were pressed by their home newspapers for "snappy stuff," they not only sought in every way to get by the censor but some became free-lances and a few yielded more or less to the temptations of fakerism. Some American papers exposed themselves all too justly to the charges of mendacity (F. Koester's *The Lies of the Allies*), and we had such headlines as "Eleven German Warships Sunk," "Kaiser Loses Two-Thirds of His Army in Poland; His Sons Escape in Airplane," "Von Kluck's Army Is Taken." This was the first stage of reporting, which ended about the time of the fall of Antwerp. Then almost with one accord the warring nations shut down on reporters and gave the public only their own very brief official reports, which the great news bureaus used as best they could. This W. G. Shepherd calls the period of the dark ages. In the third stage the reporter was allowed to live in a certain area and was given perhaps each day his daily bread of news at headquarters, and was also allowed to travel and see for himself within certain limits. But everything he sent had to be submitted to the official censor; if he attempted to evade this ruling he might be punished by dismissal. Thus military interests dominated his work and almost anything could be repressed. The reporter was no longer marooned but was silenced if he transgressed. By this method the British kept the first battle of Ypres a secret from the world for several months. The *Times* could not print for months the account of the first Zeppelin raid, although its own building was damaged. Thus the reporter in the later stages of the war was no longer a prisoner but was in daily touch with the War Office, could make almost daily trips officially prepared for him, often even up to the firing line, and so according to his own initiative could know and tell much about the front. The best of these reporters have educated themselves and the public very rapidly and well, and our leading dailies have grown in these four years vastly less provincial and more cosmopolitan, although there has yet been no concerted movement to gather news systematically by placing qualified correspondents in all the great centers of the world to give readers at home a preliminary sketch of history, which is everywhere now being made so rapidly. Thus the cultivated American might yet fervently use many of the phrases in Ajax's famous prayer for more light.

In Germany the military censorship of the press, which is always rigorous, became vastly more so at the outset of the war, and as early as July 31, 1914, a long list of forbidden subjects was published. Every few days military orders were given as to what could and could not be printed, and many papers were suppressed for various lengths of time, without a hearing, and perhaps the editor imprisoned or forced into the auxiliary service. Every governmental bureau has absolute authority concerning the publicity of its doings. The future of Alsace-Lorraine, labor troubles, hard living conditions, and war aims could not be discussed by order of the high command. Despite the constitution Reichstag speeches were mutilated, and some deputies had to submit their speeches to the censor in advance, without mentioning that they had done so. Separate peace with Russia was also under the ban. In addition to suppression and gagging there was much "inspired" material, which was standardized and which the papers had to print. The German journals were allowed to use only one version of the Jutland "victory," the Zeppelin raids, and Belgian deportations. News was also doctored; in President Wilson's address of April 2, 1917, half the text including "the world must be made safe for Democracy" was deleted by Wolff, and also the passages declining compensation and expressing friendliness for the German people. J. G. Randall has compiled many incidents of downright fabrication. The same items were served up differently for Belgium and Russia, and everything that happened or was said in all countries favorable to Germany was featured. Thus the German press in general has become since the outbreak of the war even more "reptilian" than Bismarck called it. All this is especially done in the interests of morale. The War Office decides what the soldier and the public shall know and not know, for news is a war asset that ranks next to munitions.

Another aspect of this subject is found in the systems of espionage and methods of getting intelligence as to the doings and intentions of the enemy in order to avoid surprise. On the one hand every purpose and movement is disguised in every way, and strategy consists largely in misleading the enemy; while on his side he must develop and use every possible agency to learn beforehand just what to expect, for only thus can the supreme disaster to morale in actual fighting, viz., surprise, be avoided. Thus it is that the successful spy is a hero on his own side but worthy of every indignity, torture, and perhaps death if he falls into the hands

of the enemy. André, whom Washington hanged in 1870, now reposes in Westminster Abbey. Captain Lody, after remarkable exploits, when tried by court-martial in Camera revealed all his instructions but not names, was loyal to the end, and said before he was shot that his trial was a model of fairness. Very few in this country and even in Europe before Paul Lanoir's book (and Dr. Burch's *Notebook, The Active Service Police in the War of 1866-70*, Walheim's *Indiscretions*, Zernicki's *Recollections*, and the famous Mesmard pamphlet of 1901) realized what this system meant in Germany. Even in 1810 there were 30,000 German spies of both sexes in France. Frederick the Great said, "I have one cook and a hundred spies." Spies in Germany are respected. They are of all grades and found in all professions. Men are entrapped by the Krausse houses, and Stieber (1818-1892), the originator of the present system, was a genius of originality and trickery. Everyone was watched, even spies themselves, and of course every court in Europe. Stieber was a friend of the king and of Bismarck, who called him "the great reptile." His agents secured the personal safety of the Czar at German spas, and allowed an assassin, whose plans they knew beforehand, to shoot at Alexander III in Paris; they then arrested him, as this procedure suited Bismarck's purposes. In 1866 Bismarck approved the plan of invading France in advance of the German army by introducing 4,000 agriculturists and 8,000 domestics, so that the road by which Moltke's army marched into France was strewn beforehand with spies, some 30,000 in all. Stieber studied each commander, the opinion of each district, provided in advance for the lodgment of the German army, working with children, the sick, and the poor, as well as with the press. He insisted that the German invaders were led by his army. During this Franco-Prussian War the expense of this secret police system was 783,000 pounds, a part of which was paid to strike leaders in France. Engineers, too, were spies, and at a signal disorganized traffic. They preyed upon every expression of industrial unrest, and made common cause with anarchists. Whenever there was a rumor of friction between France and Germany they fomented strikes, paid money for elections, worked with all kinds of parasites and wastrels and all who were "down and out," and provided sources of income for those in debt. Many were drummers, and some wore the ribbon of the Legion of Honor. Jules Favre in 1870 engaged Stieber himself in disguise as a servant. These spies are sycophants, money-lenders, they are found in every

drawing-room, and have a system of letters innocent on their surface but every phrase of which has its key for interpretation. Stieber claimed that the conquest of France in 1870 was due more to his pioneer work than to Moltke's army. Germany now spends more than a million pounds a year for this secret service. The system has lately spent most of its energy in Russia with results which the world knows.

The remedies are, first, a growth of public opinion based on realization of the danger; also a revision of laws. The allied nations have contented themselves for the most part with detecting and punishing spies and have not generally approved the development of a counter system of espionage. None, so far as known, has organized a scheme in Germany like that which the Germans have developed in other countries for it would not be thought honorable by public opinion and would conflict with our national ideals of morale. It is due to this system in Germany and its almost total absence in England that the latter was so taken by surprise and was at a disadvantage at the outset of the war, so that the lives of many thousands of her best young men were lost. On the whole we cannot escape the inquiry whether as we had to meet gas by gas, submarines by submarines, we should not also have henceforth secret agents in Germany to keep our authorities informed, far more intimately than our press is able to do, of what is actually taking place there. If this wounds our national honor we could console ourselves with the fact that our active espionage would be entirely in the interests of preparedness and defense and not with a view to offensive action.

The mails have been a very effective war weapon, and to examine them is to discover and frustrate the enemy's plans, restrict their supplies, and impair their capacity. Some letters favor acts of violence, such as incendiarism and sabotage, others deal with the supply of vital material, while a third class is connected with propaganda. It is as necessary to check espionage as to forestall seditious literature. In England every twenty-four hours thirty to fifty thousand telegrams pass the censor and some four hundred cablegrams. Many of these letters are in code, and a vast body of useful information has been gathered by these "eyes of the blockade" and also, what is no less important, withheld from the enemy. In London the censoring force numbers 3,100. It was a new institution and so Liverpool founded a training school for these experts under Colonel Tody, which handles nearly 400,000 items

in twenty-four hours. The postal censorship service costs England \$3,350,000 a year.

Another great department is to shape and influence public opinion by means of propaganda. This, like espionage, is very elaborately and very expensively organized departmentally in Germany, which has spent millions monthly in Russia and the story of which in other allied countries has been so successfully unearthed and checked. This is not the place to describe in detail its methods, which are of profound interest to psychology.²³ Every device has been resorted to. New books have been bound in old covers and under misleading titles, leaflets and even forms have been inserted in purely scientific books and journals so that the importation of all these into this country has for two years, we think unwisely, been held up from our universities and libraries by England. Seditious articles have been printed in some of the papers and in many of the journals in this country which are printed in a foreign language. In the vast censorship museum of Great Britain are thousands of objects illustrating these arts of getting by. Special systematic attempts were made to stir up the natives of Java, Sumatra, and Singapore.

In the official Bulletin of February 4, 1918, we find the scope and activities of Mr. Creel's Committee on Public Information, which goes to our 30,000 papers. These, with no compulsory censorship, have so marvelously responded to a gentleman's agreement to print nothing of advantage to the enemy, such as troop movements, defenses, and embarkations, that we have had almost no official press censorship. Our bureau has sought chiefly to influence public opinion at home, among our allies, and also with the enemy. It has used many million dollars' worth of free space for advertising, prepared and used movies, has had an airplane service to distribute circulars behind the lines, and for all these activities has only two hundred and fifty paid employees, for there are five thousand volunteers and several times that number of

²³ See, for example: HORST VON DER GOLTZ: *My Adventures as a German-Secret Agent*, N. Y.: 1917, 288 p. A. K. GRAVES: *The Secrets of the German War Office*, N. Y., 1914, 286 p. LEON DAUDET: *L'Avant Guerre*, Paris, 1915, 312 p. LOUIS ROUQUETTE: *La Propaganda Germanique aux Etats-Unis*, Paris, 1916, 154 p. HAMIL GRANT: *Spies and Secret Service*, London, 1915, 320 p. THEODORE ROOSEVELT: *The Foes of Our Own Household*, N. Y., 1917, 347 p. WILLIAM H. SKAGGS: *German Conspiracies in America, from an American point of view*, Lond., 1915. ROGER B. WOOD: *The German Spy in America*, Lond., 1917, 256 p., with an introductory note by ex-President Roosevelt. *The German Spy System in France*. Tr. from the French of Paul Lanoir, 1910.

public speakers. It has issued a few pamphlets of very diverse quality, and in addition to its Division of Syndicate Features has one of Foreign Language Newspapers and also of Photographs.

From these very bare and large outlines we can see that in war times the control of news is a factor of inestimable significance for morale. In the trench and at home the soldier, especially the American soldier, as well as the citizen, craves to know just what is going on, and if he is left in ignorance, tension and fear are harder on him than the envisagement of even bad news. If he believes that he has been really told the worst and that nothing has been kept back he is satisfied; he can pardon many things easier than concealment of facts he feels he has a right and ought to know, and if he is surprised by something utterly unforeseen he is liable to lose his balance. He has amazing power to adjust and react efficiently in any situation that he can clearly see, however desperate it may be. Just as the democratic world is now demanding the abolition of all secret treaties, so the soldier demands to be taken into the confidence of his officers and to glimpse the larger strategy in which his unit is called on to play its part. Psychology can realize even more fully than democracy is yet able to do not only the negative side of the dangers of reservation and concealment but the great positive accession of energy that comes where the soldier feels that he participates in knowledge not only of the facts but of the purposes of the high command. To be told beforehand that there is grave danger in an enterprise, and to be shown something of its reasons and relations to the success of a plan goes a great way toward giving him the nerve to carry it out; while a sense of ignorance is felt to be a kind of mental asphyxiation. Thus officers are revising old ideas and recognizing noetic needs and realizing their value. There are already those who believe that more, even if informal, talks should be given on all suitable occasions and that by circularization troops should be put in the possession of as many bald facts as possible, leaving them to draw their own inferences and form their own opinions concerning everything that the intense curiosity of the trenches seeks to find out. The public and the peoples of the world, as our President is now telling us, must be taken more into the confidence of governments. Legitimate criticism must not be repressed but welcomed. No doubt reticence, as Lequeux says, has often saved from disaster almost equal to that of the black week in the South African war. One of the greatest calamities in the war of 1870 was caused by a French

journal which said MacMahon had changed the direction of his army. Through England this reached Moltke, who altered all his plans and captured MacMahon and his army at Metz. This was an awful price for the indiscretion of a newspaper. But the public must not be spoon-fed, for either optimism or pessimism, if kept blind, is dangerous. The full story of the first battle of Ypres, which was so long withheld and distorted, would probably have done a great deal in England for recruiting, for great disasters as well as great victories rouse the British to greater efforts. Spying in war is not like stealing trade secrets or inventions or any other kind of industrial espionage. Perhaps, as some claim, the means of acquiring secret knowledge has progressed faster than the arts of concealing it, and if so this is suggestive for those who wish to prophecy. On the whole we must conclude that although this subject fairly bristles with anomalies, in the new era we shall have a rather radical revision of our conceptions here in favor of more openness and less concealment, both to the soldier in the ranks and to the public.

XVII. *Differential Morale*.—Differential psychology takes account of individual variations. No two people are exactly alike in body, and they are still more unlike in mind and character. The same is true of nations. Even patriotism is a very different thing in different lands. It generally contains at least the following ingredients: (1) love of landscape, soil, and the physical environment, which plays such a rôle in ethnography; (2) race, especially its more generic differentiations, white, black, red, yellow; (3) language including much that is common in culture material and in modes and expressions of thought and feeling; (4) *mores* or the general body of national customs and habits, including food, drink, and attire; (5) a common history and traditions, as, for example, Renan called the ancient Jews the people of the Book; (6) political institutions like the state or governmental institutions, with always something thought to be more or less divine about them,—whether it be a direct supernatural force, as in a theocracy the divinity that hedges kings, an embodiment of absolute reason as with Hegel, or in the *vox populi* of democracies; and (7) economic interests, such as in China are now being made the new basis of unity, or as the German confederation of Bismarck started with the tariff union. There are many more factors, of which these are the chief.

Now all of these influences are cohesive except the last, which are dispersive, and it is on these latter that all internationalism from

Marx to Bolshevism are mainly based. Most economists tend to internationalism and, in so far as they do, are unpatriotic. Commercial relations bind nations together, but at the expense of their integrity. Business as such knows little of patriotism but has long made it its pretext, striving to use the flag to make trade follow it while, at the same time, erecting tariff walls, issuing embargoes and checks on immigration or freedom of movements of men and countries. The proportion of the other six elements and their innumerable components differs indefinitely in different countries. So much is this the case that there is not so very much that is common between the love of country which an American feels and that which goes by the same name among Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Japanese, etc. Indeed the patriotism of perhaps no two men in the same country is identical. The same is true of morale, both in peace and in war.

Such national and temperamental differences have a salient illustration in the diversities of stress laid upon these characters in both the training for and the practice of war, of which we see perhaps the most convenient contrast between the Teutons and French from Clausewitz and DuPicq down to Bernhardt and Foch. The Germans study fortifications, maneuvers, movements of army units as if war were a game of chess, and have developed their very elaborate *Kriegspiel*, which is heralded as marking a pedagogic revolution somewhat analogous to the methods of case study in law schools.²⁴ They figure out the details of time, numbers, and munitions, and the effects of the mechanical impact of bodies of men. Their strategy is that of a game planned in detail beforehand. The French theory and practice focus on the attack and charge, and it is to this that everything diverges and from it converges. The moments that precede the charge in which, we are so often told, every soldier, whatever his religion or irreligion, offers up a prayer or its psychological equivalent are the center of all interest. The core of the whole matter for the German is thus the *Gemüt* to fight in general, while for the Frenchman it is the *esprit* of dashing at the enemy and stabbing him down or compelling him to flee. Here, too, the English are strong but without much theory about it. In these crucial moments each group or individual must act for himself as the emergency directs. The officers can only give general directions and inspire by personal leadership in front rather than issuing orders from the rear. Details thus have

²⁴ M. W. MEYERHARDT: *The War Game*. *Ped. Sem.*, Dec. 1915.

to be left to the inspiration that the moment brings to each. In these two ways of war all the heredity, history, and diathesis of the Gaul and Teuton respectively are expressed.

Again, as Huot and Voivenel²⁵ tell us in a remarkable work approved by the War Ministry, courage is the triumph of the instinct of social over that of individual preservation. It is the sacrifice of the self for an ideal. It is the acme of citizenship. In moments of desperation and abandon it comes like an inspiration, even to mediocre men. The last vestige of fear goes, death is accepted as certain, and this sets free new and terrible energies; indeed it is often just at this stage that the most heroic deeds are done. The whole strength of the race nerves the individual, so gregarious is man, and before the inevitable end he is impelled as by a higher power to do one supreme act of service. But who can tell whether the noble Americans who died in and for France,—Victor Chapman, Norman Prince, Kiffin Rockwell, Alan Seeger, and others,—evolved a clear ideal, which few really do, or followed the blind all-compelling social impulse. And who shall say which is highest or best. The Frenchman often loves his country as if she were a woman, *avec une pointe de sexualité*. Love of it seizes and carries him away as love of woman sometimes does a man. Just before the battle there is intense tumescence; every nerve is taut. Then there is a great hemorrhage of sentiment, and afterward comes exhaustion and depression.

XVIII. *The Soldier Ideal*.—The ideal soldier comes perhaps nearer being the ideal man than does the ideal workman, scholar, farmer, savant, or the ideal man of any other occupation. The soldierly attitude and bearing is the acme of alertness and readiness for action of any kind on the instant with a maximum of efficiency. Man is the erect stander (*anthropos*) and the soldier's very posture suggests the goal of human evolution, for he is the most upright of all men, and this suggests that he is supercharged with vitality. His uniform must seem to fit him and suggest that he would strip well. On parades and in civil life his dress must be immaculate and he must be spick and span in every way and part as well as in his toilet, while his every movement must speak of vigor. The true soldier carries a certain atmosphere of tonic, out-of-door healthfulness and life abounding that is a mental and physical tonic to all he meets and is the very opposite of weakness, invalidism, or flabbiness. There is no sign of apathy or accidie about either his

²⁵ *Le Courage*. Paris: 1917, 358 p.

body or mind. The ideal soldier is not merely an erect man in uniform with a gun or sword but a man of sentiments and ideals peculiar to his calling. Honor, which is simply ideal conduct though often codified into fantastic form, is his Muse. This rule of life, though somewhat more pagan than Christian in its origin, is more positive and more ideal than the puritanical rule of conscience and demands more superfluity of virtue. It is all of duty with a large plus. It makes a strong appeal to the youthful imagination, and is in fact the very best standard of human behavior in every relation of life. It has every predicate of Pauline charity and then some. The true soldier does not have the heart of a thug with a brain steeped in modern *Kultur*. Let us, however, be just and admit that the old German band of virtue (*Tugendbund*) in which young men, many of them lately soldiers in the Napoleonic wars, united to cultivate in civil life the primitive virtues of the camp, such as fraternity, utter honesty, love of work, loyalty, righteous pugnacity, and mutual help, to which they added chastity and the penitential mood, was in its early prime a potent agent in regenerating Prussia when it reached its pinnacle of cultural development a century ago.

The true soldier surpasses all others in team work and *esprit de corps*. This means that he has learned to execute orders on the instant and with exactness, to keep in the closest *rapprochement* with his fellows, and that he has voluntarily subordinated himself to the group with utter abnegation and has made its aims his own. He can thus be handled in larger groups and each trusts in the next highest command, thus avoiding friction and enabling vast bodies of men to act as a unit. He has developed a large bundle of useful habits acquired by prolonged discipline that are for his own and for the common good. Thus the very manual of arms and all drill are not in themselves the best liberal education for the body compared with modern physical training which gives the fullest of all-round development to every muscle and every movement possible to the body as a machine. But it is superior to this latter because drill movements are the very best of all group activities for training the muscles and the will, of which they are the organ, to the most strenuous of all efforts, viz., overcoming the enemy. They are sanctioned again, most of them even in their details by the experience of ages, some of them going back to the primitive hunter from whom the warrior developed, and also by the consensus of the competent since the history of war began. Their benefit extends even to the details of military etiquette. The salute to the

petty officer is to him, to the staff, and, back of it, to the state. The salute to the flag is not a ritual addressed to a piece of striped bunting but to the country and the cause of which it is a symbol. The ceremony of mounting guard comes down to us from the Crusades and was once an act of religious consecration. Presenting arms expressed offering up of self and weapon. Bugle calls, taps, military funerals, and the rest are not a few of them made up, warp and woof, of symbols.

Least of all can a soldier live to or for himself. He and all that he has, is, can do, his entire *thun und haben* are subordinated as a means to an end that vastly transcends self. He must be, feel, and act like a soldier, that is, for his companions, the army, and his cause. For this reason he should also be a gentleman without fear or reproach and should feel himself particularly called to elevate and advance to ever higher levels the loftiest ideals of his sex, a call which the instinctive admiration of women always and everywhere makes to him. While cultivating hardness to the enemy he must and will naturally compensate by more tenderness to friends, the weak, defenseless, sometimes even to animals. The very drudgery and sordidness of camp and trench life make him seek compensation in ideals of home and of peace. As the war lasts on and he grows grim and fatalistic, and his will becomes set as if in a tonic cramp to see it through regardless of self, countervailing suggestions arise that all the suffering and battle must be paid for by a world enough better to make up for all he has gone through.

Thus the complete soldier and patriot has unprecedented incentives to idealism and to be more ready to insist on and enlist in all great and good, even if radical, reforms. If he has found in the aims of the war a cause that is so much greater than himself that in his heart he has really consented to die for it if need be, the awful school of war will graduate him a man more fully statured than others who have lacked this supreme initiation to life. He can show "a healthy brisket," that he has "grown hair" on the chest not only of his body but of his very soul. Would that more soldiers might go on to this higher diploma of finished manhood and citizenship, and not stop at the kindergarten or primary stage of the soldierly curriculum!

XIX. *Carrying on the War After Peace Comes.*—Many if not most great wars have been followed by periods of dis- and reorganization, lawlessness, and greed, and there is a very great danger that this will be the case, perhaps especially in this country, now. It

will surely be so unless the new vigor and robust virtues that war has given us are kept up in a new war with the weapons of peace. As Harold Goddard well says, "Without the new health, hitting force, adventure, loyalty, justice, and high endeavor that the war has bred peace will mean stagnation and decay." Even physical vigor is just as essential for the battles of peace as for those of war. We must make justice a passion, realizing that not only is the world not yet safe for democracy but that democracy is nowhere more than half realized and is as yet only an ideal toward which we its leader have taken but a few steps. So the soldier who is a hero in the struggle of arms often becomes a moral coward, intent only on personal indulgence when he comes home. To do this would be ethically worse than desertion.

Every intelligent and impartial mind recognizes that in this country Capitalism is a danger no whit less than Kaiserism or military autocracy, and unless we can devise and commit ourselves to a substitute for war against its abuses, the struggle begun with powder and gas will be unfinished.

What we have to do is to devise effective means of setting a back-fire to the principle of the Soviet, but more specifically, of Bolshevism, and this we can do only by the method of inoculation with an attenuated virus. Russia today by her propaganda for a cause, the devotees of which however mistaken are ready to sacrifice their lives, is waging a post-bellum fight which will be far more significant to the world than anything she ever did with her arms. In our better cause we should realize that if we are to maintain our world leadership in democracy we have to make ourselves far more democratic than we are, and reorganize our very industrial system from bottom to top.

War inevitably leads men's thoughts back to first principles, and everywhere thinking men are reconsidering social, political, industrial, and even family traditions and institutions. Everything bottoms on industry, and even in the Non-Partisan League, which has so much to commend it, we already see a suggestion of the Soviet principle which animated the ancient guilds, that cities, and states should be ruled by real representatives of the different lines of industry, which should be so reorganized that the present greatest of all wastes in our political system, viz., friction between Capital and Labor and unfair competition, can be forever and as effectively wiped out as we have almost wiped out the old and wasteful warfare between Science and Religion. When the work of the

Paris Conference is done and political boundaries and balances are agreed upon, the hardest of all the wars against the future war should be the chief concern of the country and the world. There must be no bolshevik domination by the proletariat, and indeed there cannot be save in Russia where the middle class, which was weak in France in the days of the French Revolution, is almost non-existent. A true democracy will never commit itself to the foolish principle of the equality of men, save in opportunity. Individuals differ enormously,—in ability, in capacity for service, in the value of the hereditary strain that flows through them, and in everything else, as well as in the kind of ability that comes by training and education, and any political, social, or industrial organization that prevents superior men from attaining superior rewards is doomed to failure. The history of this country, especially since the Civil War and indeed long before that, is a triumphant vindication of the principle that the freer men are the less equal they become, and while here the chief measure of ability has so far been too much material reward, the instinct of competition which prompts everyone to do and be the greatest and best he can needs only regulation. Interference with it will always bring not even mediocrity but inferiority and stagnation.

The present, then, in fine is the most critical moment in the history of this country and the world. Never were there such possibilities of advance or regression, nor such need of mobilizing all our moral resources for the new militancy of peace. We owe this to the dead that their self-immolation be not in vain; we owe it to our descendants that they be really free; and we owe it to ourselves that we awake to the tremendous issues now pending, for even men of today are but a link between the past and the true overman that is some time to be. Thus the real problem of morale which is up to us is to face the Here and Now, to act aright in the living present, and to inaugurate a higher history of mankind compared to which all human records to date are only prolegomena or a preface.

We entered the war to make the world safe for democracy but we did far more; we made the world democratic. Thus our relation to these new republics is very like that of a parent to the children he has brought into the world. Shall we disown our offspring and leave them orphaned and unprotected? They owe their new life to us. We cannot expose them in their infancy. It is they now and not us, as we were in Washington's day when we were only a belt along the Atlantic, that need to be safeguarded from entangling foreign

alliances. Without our aid these new democracies will not be safe and our war-aim will be aborted. They will not all be our mandatories, perhaps none of them, but we are called by every principle of honor to be at least the "big brother" of all of them. When as a result of our Civil War we set the slaves free, we did not leave them at the mercy of their former masters but did our best, mistaken though our way was, to establish them in their new freedom. We cannot, of course, do this for the newly emancipated peoples of Europe, although they are free solely because we brought victory to the Allies and they know that we gave them their new life, but we can cherish toward them the same goodwill and do something to activate it. To evade this high duty would be moral slackerdom unworthy the spirit with which our soldiers fought and won.

The new democracies look to us not only because we made them free or because we were the first great republic, but also because they have made us by contributing so many of their countrymen, friends, and relatives who have come to these shores. Indeed we are all only and solely immigrants from Europe, or their descendants, and this our country, which is really "New Europe," owes all that it has and is to "Old Europe" and we shall probably in future years owe it a far larger debt of this kind. We have made a notable beginning toward paying this debt by our arms, and we must not repudiate the other larger moiety of it that is still due. It is a great debt with long accumulating interest. Europe is our father- or mother-land, and as it ages it may yet more need support from its young and lusty child across the Western sea. From our previous isolation we are now called to a new world leadership. The last becomes the first. Have we the morale to see this new opportunity and to assume the new duties and responsibilities which the Muse of History now lays upon us?

